Third Series, No.3

Wednesday, February 12, 1964
Magha 23, 1885 (Saka)

LOK SABHA DEBATES

Seventh Session
(Third Lok Sabha)

सत्यमेव जयते

LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT

New Delhi

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No. 3

Wednesday, February 12, 1964/*Magha* 23, 1885 (*Saka*)

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*The sign + marked above the name of a Member indicates that the Question was actually asked on the floor of the House by that Member.

LOK SABHA

Wednesday, February 12, 1964/ Magha 23, 1885 (Saka)

The Lok Sabha met at Eleven of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Theft of Relic from Hazratbal Mosque

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*31. **Shri Yashpal Singh:**
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:
Shri Maheswar Naik:
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Dhaon:
Shri Vishram Prasad:
Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:
Shri R. G. Dubey:
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri D. D. Puri:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri Indrajit Gupta:
Shri M. L. Dwivedi:
Shri Hem Barua:
Dr. L. M Singhvi:
Shrimati Savitri Nigam:
Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:
Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:
Shri P. K. Ghosh:
Shri Gulshan:
Shri Solanki:
Shri P. H. Bheel:
Shri Kachhavaiya:
Shri S. M. Banerjee:
Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:
Shri Kishnapal Singh:
Shri Nath Pai:
Shri G. Mohanty:
Shri Sarjoo Pandey:
Shri Ram Harkh Yadav:
Shri Kajrolkar:
Shri Shiv Charan Gupta:
Shri Hem Raj:
Shri Swell:
Shri Mohan Swarup:
Shri Koya:
Shri P. R. Patel:
Dr. Mahadeva Prasad:
Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:
Shri Bagri:
Shri Abdul Ghani Goni:
Shri Vidyalankar:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether investigations have been made in regard to the disappearance and subsequent recovery of the sacred relic of the Prophet from the Hazaratbal shrine by the Central Intelligence Department;

(b) if so, the result thereof; and

(c) whether the culprits have been apprehended?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): (a) to (c). Investigations with regard to the disappearance and subsequent recovery of the sacred relic of the Prophet from the Hazratbal shrine are being pursued with vigour. The Central Intelligence Bureau are affording every possible assistance to the State Police in this matter. Some arrests have already been made and more arrests may have to be made later. The investigation is not yet complete, but as soon as it is completed the case will be filed in court.

श्री यशपाल सिंह : क्या वाकई सैंट्रल गवर्नमेंट मुलजिमान का पता लगाने में नाकामयाब रही है, और अगर कामयाब हुई है तो सरकार उन मुलजिमान का नाम दे क्यों नहीं रही है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इसका जवाब तो उन्होंने दिया कि कुछ आदमी अरेस्ट किये गये हैं और बाकी के लिये तहकीकात चल रही है । जो पाये जायेंगे उन्हें अरेस्ट किया जायेगा ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : उनके नाम क्या हैं ।

श्री नन्दा : मैं उनके नाम तो नहीं बतला सकता क्योंकि जब यह कहा जा रहा है कि इन्वेस्टिगेशन बिल्कुल कम्पलीट नहीं हुआ तब उन लोगों के नाम बतलाना ठीक नहीं है ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वह जानना चाहते हैं कि अब तक जो अरेस्ट हुए हैं उनके नाम क्या हैं । इसमें तो कोई ऐतराज नहीं होना चाहिये । जो कस्टडी में रखे गये हैं उनके नाम तो बतला दिये जाने चाहियें ।

श्री नन्दा : मैं उनके नाम असर्टेन करके बतला दूंगा ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : क्या काश्मीर की जनता ने यह डिमांड की है कि इस मामले की तहकीकात सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट करे और जिस जज की नियुक्ति सरकार करे वह स्टेट से बाहर का जज हो ?

श्री नन्दा : यह बात सही है कि वहां पर इस किस्म की मांग थी कि इसकी जांच में सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट मदद करे, और ऐसा हुआ भी । जज के लिये जो कहा जा रहा है कि यहां से मदद की जाये तो गवर्नमेंट आफ जम्मू और काश्मीर का खयाल है कि हम इसमें मदद करें ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि हजरतबल की दरगाह से पवित्र बाल की जो चोरी हुई, जिसके अपराधियों के नाम बतलाने से गृह मंत्री जी ने इन्कार किया है, उसमें क्या कुछ जम्मू काश्मीर राज्य के प्रमुख राजनीतिक दलों से सम्बन्धित व्यक्ति भी हैं, जिसके कारण उनके नाम छिपाना चाहते हैं । यदि हां, तो इसके सम्बन्ध में सरकार क्या सोच रही है ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वे कह रहे हैं कि नाम बतला दिये जायेंगे । वे उनको छिपाना नहीं चाहते ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : इतना तो बतला दें कि उसमें क्या कुछ राजनीतिक पार्टियों के व्यक्तियों का हाथ है ।

श्री नन्दा : माननीय सदस्य जो कुछ कह रहे हैं वह बात गलत है । उसमें किसी राजनीतिक पार्टी का हाथ नहीं है ।

Shri P. C. Borooah: May I know whether any report is available to the authorities to say that there is an unseen foreign hand involved in the relic theft case and, if so,....

Mr. Speaker: That would be known after the investigation is completed.

Shri A. P. Jain: In order to conduct any investigation successfully, some motive has to be discovered. May I know whether during this investigation which has been conducted so far, the motive for the theft has been discovered—one or two alternative motives, whatever it might be?

Shri Nanda: That will be linked up with the whole inquiry.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: May I know if the case of the theft of Hindu idols from Jammu area.....

Mr. Speaker: Here we are concerned with this relic theft only.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I am only seeking to ask whether that was connected because both the things occurred simultaneously and whether there is....

Mr. Speaker: Unless the investigation is completed, how can the Home Minister express his opinion whether there is any connection or not.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: Do the Government suspect any conspiracy behind this thing?

Mr. Speaker: They should not disclose it.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: In view of President Ayub's outburst, statement, that it must have been done by non-Muslims, may we know whether there is any truth in that allegation of President Ayub?

Shri Nanda: No.

श्री बड़े : क्या यह जो इन्वेस्टिगेशन हो रहा है, वह इस लाइन पर हो रहा है कि पाकिस्तान के फिफ्थ कालमिस्ट उसके पीछे थे ?

श्री नन्दा : मैंने कहा कि जो इन्फार्मेशन दी गई उससे ज्यादा इस वक्त देना मैं मुनासिब नहीं समझता ।

Shri Indrajit Gupta: May I know whether these persons who were apprehended were caught red-handed in the very act of restoring the relic to the shrine and, if not, why was it not possible for the Central Intelligence Bureau to apprehend the people in the very act of restoring the relic?

Shri Nanda: I may assure the hon. Members that this process, as I explained now, is going to be completed in the course of a week or so.

Mr. Speaker: The first part may be answered whether they were caught red-handed when they restored the relic.

Shri Nanda: As to whether the person was caught red-handed or not, it depends upon the actual process whether he was caught red-handed while putting the thing back. These are deputed, here are and they assisted say just now.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Has it been brought to the notice of Government that on the 4th January, President Ayub had stated that this was not the work of any Muslim and that it was a conspiracy, and if so, why was it not possible for Government to immediately issue a contradiction so that many of the things that happened subsequently need not have happened?

Shri Nanda: It might have led to certain complications at that stage?

Shri Nath Pai: The relic was discovered, as far as the reports in the press go, on the 4th January. May I know why the identification was delayed for one month when it was known how explosive the situation was and that Pakistan and other interested elements were trying to fan the frenzy of the people by saying that the relic that was replaced was a forged one? Why was the identification of the relic and the culprits being delayed?

Shri Nanda: Much earlier than the public *Deedar*, several persons who were in a position to say whether the relic was genuine or not had done so, and that was made known. There were other complications there and it took time to clear them up.

श्री राम सेवक यादव : मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि जो मुलजिमान इस सिलसिले में गिरफ्तार किये गये जब उनके नाम न बतलाने की वजह से बहुत सी गड़बड़ी हुई और हिन्दू मुसलमानों में आपस में दंगे हुए, तो क्या वजह है कि उनके नाम अब तक नहीं बतलाये गये ?

श्री नन्दा : इसमें हिन्दू और मुसलमान का सवाल कुछ है ही नहीं ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है । मेरा प्रश्न सीधा है

कि अब तक उनके नाम न बतलाने का कारण क्या है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इसमें व्यवस्था का प्रश्न कैसे उठता है ?

श्री राम सेवक यादव : इस लिये कि यह सवाल उठता है कि यह रिलेवेन्ट है या नहीं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह व्यवस्था का प्रश्न नहीं है, यह सप्लीमेन्टरी की बात है ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : मैं आपका प्रोटेक्शन चाहता हूं । आखिर यह प्रश्न इस सम्बन्ध में उठता है या नहीं कि उनका नाम न बतलाने का कारण क्या है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह सवाल पहले हो चुका और जवाब भी हो चुका ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : नाम क्यों नहीं बतलाया जा रहा है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : उन्होंने कहा है कि बाद में बतला देंगे ।

Shri Abdul Ghani Goni: Is it a fact that the magistrate who is to try the case has already been appointed? May I also know from the hon. Minister when the *challaans* will be presented before the court?

Shri Nanda: The magistrate is only in connection with the *challaans*, but the trial is going to be done by a different judge, whose appointment is still to be made.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know whether the investigating agency has been strengthened during the recent days in order that the investigations may be completed within the shortest possible time, and if it has been strengthened, in what way?

Shri Nanda: It is well known that top-level intelligence officers from here are deputed, and they assist in the investigations.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: May I know how far it is true that the investigation which was primarily in the hands of Government has now been entrusted to the State Government and the Centre are only assisting them, and if it is true, the reasons for this, in view of the past experience?

Shri Nanda: These are only concluding processes. The main work has been done.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: That was not my question. May we know whether the Central Government are conducting the investigation in the light of past experience, or it is being done by the State Government now?

Mr. Speaker: That question has been answered already. The Central Government are assisting the State Government in that respect.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether the attention of Government has been drawn to a statement made by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed to the effect that the people of Jammu and Kashmir, while agitating for the recovery of the holy relic, raised certain slogans, firstly 'We demand plebiscite, and secondly 'We demand the release of Sheikh Abdullah', and if so, how far Bakshi Guhlam Mohammed's statement corroborates the facts? Or was it Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's brain-wave simply?

Shri Nanda: Though that question does not directly arise out of the main question, I am prepared to answer it. This had appeared in the press. Later on, Bakshi Saheb had clarified it by saying that it only meant that a few people had done so, and not that there was a general demand.

Shri Hem Barua: I could not hear the reply. It is a very serious matter.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Nath Pai is just conveying that to him.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Has the attention of the hon. Minister been drawn to a statement made by the Pakistan

representative in the UN Security Council where he quoted President Ayub Khan as saying that these particular riots were a sort of plebiscite which had proved the Pakistan stand in regard to a referendum? In reply to this, our representative stated that this has proved that they were against the local administration in Kashmir and that they have full confidence in the Centre. I would like to know whether our representative got a brief from India for saying this or he said this on his own. If his statement is correct, what action has been taken by the Government to replace the corrupt Government there?

Mr. Speaker: That is too much removed from the main question.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I rise to a point of order.

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक ही सवाल है । इसके बारे में मुझे सप्लीमेंटरी सवाल पूछने का मौका दिया जाये ।

Mr. Speaker: We have spent more than 12 minutes on this question. There is a reference to it in the President's Address as well. That is to be discussed for four days. I cannot allow more than this. A regular discussion cannot take place now.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: My only submission is that it has a direct relation with this. In connection with the theft of the sacred relic, this was quoted by the Pakistan representative in the UN Council, and our representative said that that has proved that the Government there is corrupt....

Mr. Speaker: That is a different thing. That can be taken up during the debate on the President's Address, not just now.

Next question.

श्री ओंकार लाल बेरवा: अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बहुत जरूरी सवाल है । यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है । मुझे पूरक प्रश्न पूछने का अवसर दिया जाये ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : किसी सवाल का उत्तर ही नहीं मिलता है ।

श्री विश्राम प्रसाद : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है । मुझे बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि मेरा नाम आठवां था । आपने बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों को बुलाया, लेकिन मुझे सप्लीमेंटरी पूछने का चांस नहीं दिया ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने माननीय सदस्य के नाम का ख्याल नहीं किया । माननीय सदस्य जानते हैं कि इस सवाल के लिए ४५ नाम थे । क्या मैं ४५ माननीय सदस्यों को बुला सकता था ?

श्री विश्राम प्रसाद : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा नम्बर आठवां था । मुझे तो अवसर मिलना चाहिये था ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब मैं माफ़ी चाहता हूं । मैं माननीय सदस्य को फिर मौका दे दूंगा ।

श्री बागड़ी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर इस सवाल के लिए ४५ माननीय सदस्यों ने नाम दिये हैं, तो उन ४५ माननीय सदस्यों को मौका मिलना चाहिए था कि सप्लीमेंटरीज़ पूछ सकते, नहीं तो ४५ सदस्य क्यों अपने नाम देते । यह एक बहुत जरूरी सवाल है, जिसका सारे देश से सम्बन्ध है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : नैक्टस्ट क्वैस्यिन ।

Future Set-up of Delhi

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*32. **Shri Yashpal Singh:**
Shri Dhaon:
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:

Shri Maheswar Naik:
Shri R. G. Dubey:
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:
Shri N. R. Laskar:
Shri Ulaka:
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shri Warior:
Shri Vasudevan Nair:
Shri Sidheshwar Prasad:
Shri Mohan Swarup:
Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:
Shri J. B. S. Bist:
Shri Kajrolkar:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri Jedhe:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to refer to reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1900 on the 18th December, 1963 and state:

(a) whether any decision has been taken in regard to the future political set-up of Delhi; and

(b) if so, the nature thereof?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): (a) and (b). The matter is still under consideration.

श्री यशपाल सिंह : क्या यह सही है कि मुख्तलिफ़ पार्टियों के लीडरों ने—मुखालिफ़ पार्टियों के लीडरों ने भी और कांग्रेस पार्टी के लीडरों ने भी—यह मांग की है कि नई दिल्ली एरिया को भी मैट्रोपालिटन कौंसिल के मातहत रखा जाये ?

श्री नन्दा : बहुतों की तरफ़ से यह बात खड़ी की गई है ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि इस में कितनी देर लग जायेगी और सरकार कब तक इस बारे में फ़ाइनल डिसिजन लेगी ।

श्री नन्दा : अभी बातचीत जारी है । जब बातचीत खत्म हो जायेगी, तो इस बारे में फ़ैसला किया जायेगा ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि सरकार की ओर से बारबार जो इस प्रश्न का उत्तर यह दिया जाता है कि प्रश्न विचाराधीन है, क्या उसका कारण यह है कि इस प्रकार की कठिनाइयां उत्पन्न हो गई हैं कि दिल्ली के राजनैतिक दल बहुत अधिकार मांगते हैं और सरकार उन को नहीं देना चाहती है ? मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि आखिर इस बारे में क्यों शीघ्र निर्णय नहीं हो रहा है ।

श्री नन्दा : एक कारण तो यह है कि हमारी यह इच्छा है कि सब से सलाह-मश्वरा किया जाये । मेरे पास एक लिस्ट है कि शहर के पंद्रह बीस नेताओं और ग्रुप्स के रिप्रेजेन्टेटिव्ज से मुलाकात हुई, बातचीत हुई । उनमें आपस में भी इख़्तलाफ़ है ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : मैं तो यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या कारण है कि सरकार सब से बात करने के बाद भी किसी हल पर नहीं पहुंच सकी है । माननीय मंत्री किस किस से मिले, यह प्रश्न नहीं है ।

श्री नन्दा : यह एक सिलसिला है बातचीत का । यह जब ख़त्म होगा, तब फ़ैसला होगा ।

Shri P. C. Borooah: Do the Union Government propose to take over some subjects like power and transport from the purview of the Delhi Administration under the revised scheme? If so, what are the actual subjects?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय मंत्री ने कहा है कि इस बारे में अभी कोई फ़ैसला नहीं हुआ है । क्या मिनिस्टर साहब इस का कुछ जवाब दे सकते हैं ?

श्री नन्दा : पावर, ट्रांस्पोर्ट, वाटर वगैरह सब चीजों के बारे में बातचीत हो रही है ।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : समाचारपत्रों में यह प्रकाशित हुआ है कि माननीय गृह मंत्री

ने विभिन्न राजनीतिक प्रतिनिधियों से बातचीत करने के बाद यहां पर एक सिटी कौंसिल के निर्माण का फ़ैसला कर लिया है । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या वाकई सिटी कौंसिल बनाने का फ़ैसला किया गया है ।

श्री नन्दा : मैट्रोपालिटन कौंसिल बनाने की बात है और यह भी उन तजवीजों का एक हिस्सा है ।

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: May I know whether Government are in a position to tell us that the question of creating a High Court for Delhi will also be decided at the same time, and whether they are prepared to give any date for the decision?

Shri Nanda: That is a separate question.

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : क्या यह बात सच है कि जिन राजनीतिक पार्टियों ने इस सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार माननीय मंत्री जी के सामने व्यक्त किये हैं, उन में किसी भी एक प्रश्न पर कहीं भी कोई समता नहीं है ?

श्री नन्दा : कई बातों में उन की एक राय है ।

Shrimati Savitri Nigam: May I know whether the majority of representatives of various groups have expressed their view that a popular set-up for Delhi should be given?

Shri Nanda: This question has been asked again and again and I have given a definite answer in the negative.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti: May I know what steps have been taken to fulfil the assurances given to the people of Delhi in the general elections by the ruling party?

Shri Nanda: It is too vague.

Shri Warior: What are the main reasons or circumstances which keep the Government back from coming to an early decision?

Mr. Speaker: That he has given.

Shri Warior: It was given in Hindi, I could not make out.

Mr. Speaker: Still the consultations are going on with the various parties.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : चूंकि दिल्ली भारत की राजधानी है, इसलिए क्या सरकार उन लोगों से भी यह दर्याफ्त करना चाहती है कि वे यहां पर किस प्रकार का प्रशासन चाहते हैं, जोकि दिल्ली के नहीं हैं, लेकिन दिल्ली में रहते हैं ?

श्री नन्दा : अगर किसी को अपनी राय ज़ाहिर करनी हो, तो वह भेज सकते हैं ।

Shri Sonavane: Has the previous experience of the running of the Delhi Government been taken into consideration by the Central Government in coming to a decision?

Shri Nanda: This is an elementary consideration.

Autonomy for Hill Districts of Assam

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*33. **Shri P. C. Borooah:**
Shri Maheswar Naik:
Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:
Shri Indrajit Gupta:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have reviewed their decision for grant of autonomy to Hill districts in Assam in the light of the discussions the Assam Members of Parliament had with the Prime Minister recently; and

(b) if so, how the decision has been modified or revised?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) and (b). The Prime Minister gave an interview to certain Members of Parliament from Assam on the 21st December, 1963. Thereafter, certain clarifications were given to the Members. The proposals have not been modified.

Shri P. C. Borooah: When the pre-independent Assam State has already been fragmented into a number of pieces, what are the reasons which prompted the Government to make the Hill Districts of Assam a highly autonomous body, and what are the principal subjects that are going to be transferred to that body over which the Assam Government and the Assam Assembly will not have any jurisdiction?

Shri Hajarnavis: The over-all consideration, of course, is the good of the people of Assam and the good of the people of the Hill Districts, but there is no definite proposal about transfer. The proposal was to appoint a commission, and the commission would work out the details.

Shri P. C. Borooah: May I know whether Government's attention has been drawn to the resolution passed by the joint sitting of the Assam Congress Party and the Assam Parliamentary Congress Party stating that while they do not oppose giving more autonomy to the Hill Districts, they are virtually opposed to the offer, as it purports to cut democracy at the very root?

Mr. Speaker: It should be a supplementary question, not a speech, it ought to be short.

Shri P. C. Borooah: May I know whether....

Mr. Speaker: Only one 'whether' should be there at a time in one supplementary.

Shri P. C. Borooah: I want to know whether they passed a resolution stating that they are virtually opposed to the offer as it cuts at the very root of democracy.

Shri Hajarnavis: Of course, it has been taken into consideration.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Let the answers be given a little more loudly.

Shri P. C. Borooah: I have not heard the reply.

Mr. Speaker: That is also under consideration.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know the broad outlines and nature of the offer made by the hon. Prime Minister to the Hill people, and if it was acceptable to them by and large; if so, why it has not been implemented?

Shri Nanda: The broad concept was that the maximum autonomy is to be extended to this area.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I want the outline, not the concept.

Shri Nanda: The outline can be placed on the Table of the House or sent to the hon. Member.

Mr. Speaker: He will appreciate that a decision has to be taken.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: It could be given in one or two minutes' time: the broad features and the outline of the offer given by the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It is clear that the first thing was that the unity of Assam should continue. Subject to that, greater autonomy should be given to the hill districts. Under the present Act they have a little measure of autonomy. That was to be increased greatly, financially, administratively and otherwise. All that was subject to a com-

mission being appointed to consider the whole thing and it has to recommend what should be done.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: May I request that the Prime Minister may speak seated?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not speaking much. I am grateful to the hon. Member but I am not speaking much.

Shri Swell: A straight offer was made by the Prime Minister to the representatives of the hill people and in response to that offer the hill people in their conference have appreciated the Prime Minister's sincere efforts and have requested for a further interview with him in order to have certain points clarified. The Prime Minister knows the problems of Assam and of the hill people much better than anybody else in this country and his word has much value in this country and in the world. In this context may I know whether it is the Government's intention to revise that offer unilaterally at the instance of certain Members of Parliament from Assam excluding Mr. Hem Barua, at his request who have always been known for their anxiety to dominate over the hill people....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He should put only a supplementary question.

Shri Swell: Is it the intention of Government to revise that offer unilaterally without referring it to the people to whom the offer was made?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no such intention. As a matter of fact the offer has not been formally accepted. This was the general approach to the question which was to be referred to a commission. The commission has not yet been appointed because the general approach has not yet been accepted.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I would like to know whether it is not a fact that the Prime Minister's proposals for vesting quite a large measure of autonomy on the hill districts has been opposed by a large number of Congress Members of Parliament from Assam on the ground that in the event of such an autonomy being established the Congress ruling party would lose its majority....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. No insinuations or innuendos.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: No innuendo; it is widely reported in the Press.... (*Interruptions*). I want to know whether such a representation has been made and whether Government will succumb to it or not.

Mr. Speaker: The question that can be asked is: whether such a representation has been made—that is all.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not personally know of any representation. I know that various representations have been received, but I do not remember anything of that type.

श्री विभूति मिश्र : मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जो हिल डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स को अधिकार देने का निर्णय किया है उसके बारे में असम सरकार की क्या राय है ?

गृह-कार्य मंत्री (श्री नन्दा) : असम गवर्नमेंट को मोटे तौर पर ये चीजें मंजूर हैं, लेकिन जिस तरह से ट्राइब से प्रतिनिधि वैरिफिकेशन चाहते हैं वैसे ही असम सरकार को भी जरूरत पड़ी कि वह इस बात को और अच्छी तरह समझ लें ।

Shri Hem Barua: I am not a neo-imperialist. I do not want to dominate anybody, even my wife!

Mr. Speaker: It is not a personal explanation.

Shri Hem Barua: Originally, the Prime Minister made an offer that was known as the Scottish pattern of autonomy for the Hill people. Now, as I understand it, he has made a new offer. May I know what is the difference

between these two offers, the Scottish pattern and the new offer?

श्री नन्दा : स्काटिश पैटर्न तो एक नाम है

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what the hon. Member means by this difference between two offers.

Mr. Speaker: He says originally it was on the Scottish pattern.

Shri Hem Barua: The first was the Scottish pattern. This is a nameless pattern, a new pattern, a new offer. I want to know the difference between the two patterns, the Scottish pattern and the new pattern.

Mr. Speaker: If he knows that this is a different one, then he knows there is a difference!

Shri Hem Barua: I want to know the difference in concrete terms.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no difference. The words "Scottish pattern" were used because of a particular element in the proposals; that was, that the members from the Hill areas would, apart from any law, be agreeable to any legislation that applies to them like in Scotland. There, there is a convention that the Scottish people's representatives in Parliament should agree to it. So far as that was concerned, it was the Scottish pattern; not in regard to other matters.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: May I know whether it has been explained to the Hill people that the Congress Members in Parliament acted in their interest, and whether their reaction to the representation made by the Congress Members of Parliament has been received in any way?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. On this matter, I interviewed members of the Hill People's Conference sometime ago, and we discussed the matter. I made certain proposals which they said they would like to consider fully further and they went away. There is no question of my explaining other people's attitude to them.

Shri Joachim Alva: May I suggest,.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. It is a suggestion.

Shri Joachim Alva: The hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the hon. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant sat and answered the questions. So, I suggest that the hon. Prime Minister may sit and answer questions.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Script for all Indian Languages

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*34. **Shri Shree Narayan Das:**
Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri R. G. Dubey:
Shri Vishram Prasad:
Shri G. Mohanty:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of India are aware of any movement for having one script for all Indian languages; and

(b) if so, the reaction of Government thereto and the help and encouragement given by Government for the movement?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) and (b). A statement is laid on the Table of the House.

STATEMENT

(a) and (b). While Government are not aware of any organised movement as such for having one script for all the Indian languages, the question of adoption of a common script was considered by the Official Languages Commission who were of the opinion that a beginning might be made at a proper time to make the

Devanagari script optional for use in the writing of the regional languages and there should be no attempt to impose, even indirectly, the Devanagari script upon the Nation.

The matter was subsequently considered at a meeting of the Chief Ministers and Central Ministers in August 1961. The meeting was of the opinion that "a common script for all Indian languages was not only desirable but would be a powerful link between the different languages of India and, therefore, of great help in bringing about integration. Such a common script in India under the existing circumstances can only be Devanagari. While it may be difficult to adopt a common script in the near future this objective should be kept in mind and worked for". During a debate in Lok Sabha on 17th March, 1961 on a Resolution moved by a private Member for the adoption of Devanagari as a common script, Government's policy was clarified and it was stated on behalf of the Government that while the object behind the Resolution was commendable, the right time for the adoption of a common script would arrive when the move came from the non-Hindi speaking people, so that there could be no suspicion in their minds about the imposition of common script. The policy of the Government continues to be the same.

In the meantime, however, various enabling steps are being taken by Government with a view to developing Devanagari in such a manner that it may be able to represent sounds peculiar to other Indian languages also. It is also sought to popularise Devanagari through a quarterly Journal "Bhasha" published by the Ministry of Education in which selected literary pieces of other Indian languages are published in the Devanagari script.

Shri Shree Narayan Das: From the statement, it appears that the Government are taking certain enabling steps with a view to developing Devanagari in such a manner that it may be able to represent sounds peculiar to other Indian languages also. I would like to know what are those measures.

Shri Bhakt Darshan: Yes, Sir; to develop Devanagari script in such a manner that it is able to represent all the peculiar sounds of the Indian languages.

Mr. Speaker: That is given in the statement.

Shri Bhakt Darshan: No, Sir. In the statement, there is only a reference and an indication.

Mr. Speaker: What he said just now, I find in the statement.

Shri Bhakt Darshan: Does the member want that I should elaborate on it?

Shri Shree Narayan Das: It has often been mentioned in statements that whenever any move is to come, that move has to come from the non-Hindi speaking people. I would like to know whether the opinion of the non-Hindi speaking people in their States has been ascertained in this respect.

Shri Bhakt Darshan: As has been explained in the statement itself, all the Chief Ministers representing the non-Hindi speaking States were also a party to that resolution, and as such they have already committed themselves to that point of view.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि दक्षिण भारत की भाषाओं को उत्तर भारत में पढ़ाने की जो एक बड़ी व्यावहारिक योजना है उसको कार्यान्वित करने के लिए शिक्षा मंत्रालय ने यह सोचा है कि उन भाषाओं की पुस्तकें देवनागरी लिपि के माध्यम से प्रकाशित हों, जिससे इधर के बच्चों को पढ़ने में आसानी हो ? यदि हां, तो उस पर क्या व्यावहारिक निर्णय लिया गया है ?

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमन्, इस सम्बन्ध में अभी तक विचार नहीं किया गया है ।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : क्या गुरुमुखी के पवित्र साहित्य को हिन्दी में प्रकाशित करने के लिये सरकार कोई आर्थिक सहायता दे रही है ?

श्री भक्त दर्शन : क्या फिर दुहराएंगे ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह तो दूसरा सवाल है ।

Shri R. G. Dubey: May I know whether the Government propose to set up any study team, in view of the importance of this question, to evolve a practical solution to solve this problem?

Shri Bhakt Darshan: I do not think, Sir, that this has ever been considered.

Shri Kapur Singh: May I know whether Government realise that they are not competent morally or legally to impose a strange script on any historically developed language without first turning the country into a "totalitarium" and if so why do Government keep on meddling with this subject?

Mr. Speaker: He is entering into argument.

Shri Kapur Singh: No, Sir. It is a question of fact. Do they realise or not that the implication of the step is that they are going to impose a strange script on a historically developed language without first turning the country into a "totalitarium"? Do they know it or not?

Shri Bhakt Darshan: I am sorry that the hon. Member is mixing up the question of language with that of the script. It is quite a different question.

Shri Kapur Singh: Not at all; I am not mixing up the question of language with script. He has not answered my question. I merely asked whether the Government are going to impose a strange script on historically developed languages in the country and if so, do they realise that they are not competent to do so?

Shri Bhakt Darshan: It has already been made clear in the statement that there cannot be any imposition at all. If this script is to be adopted by all the other languages in India, it will be with their own willing co-operation.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: May I know whether the Government is aware of the fact that there is a move afoot between the Mysore Government and the Andhra Government to evolve a common script for both Telugu and Kannada? If so, may I know whether any attempt is being made first to evolve a common script for the South Indian languages and then think of the Devanagari script?

Shri Bhakt Darshan: I am sorry that we have got no official information about it, but it is a step in the right direction.

श्री अ० प्र० शर्मा : जो स्टेटमेंट सदन के सामने है उसमें कहा गया है कि देवनागरी स्क्रिप्ट सारे देश के लिए एक कामन स्क्रिप्ट के रूप में लागू किया जायगा और साथ ही यह भी देखा जायेगा कि नान-हिन्दी स्पीकिंग एरिया के जो लोग हैं, उनके दिमागों में यह शक न रहे कि उन पर किसी तरह से इसका इम्पोजीशन हो रहा है । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इस शक को मिटाने के लिए सरकार क्या कर रही है ?

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमन्, कुछ उपाय तो इस विवरण में बताये गये हैं । एक उपाय यह भी है कि जो अहिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों का साहित्य है, उसको स्वयं वहां की साहित्यिक समितियां देवनागरी में प्रकाशित करें । उदाहरणस्वरूप रवीन्द्र-साहित्य की गीतांजलि आदि पुस्तकों को पिछली बार देवनागरी लिपि में प्रकाशित किया गया है, और वह

स्वयं वहां के व्यक्तियों द्वारा किया गया है ।

श्री राम सेवक यादव : १९६१ में केन्द्रीय मंत्री और मुख्य मंत्रियों के बीच में निर्णय लिया गया था कि समान लिपि हो सारे देश के लिए । यह निर्णय सर्वसम्मति से आ था । तब यह कैसे शंका है कि वहां डर हो सकता है लादने का ? दूसरा सवाल मेरा यह है कि अब तक उसके लिए क्या कोई प्रयास किया गया है और अगर किया गया है तो क्या किया गया है ?

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमन्, इस सम्बन्ध में केन्द्रीय सरकार का दृष्टिकोण यह है कि जो भी प्रयत्न अहिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों से किये जायें, उनको यथाशक्ति प्रोत्साहित किया जाये । इस समय यही दृष्टिकोण है ।

Dr. Ranen Sen: Are Government aware of the fact that in all States the people are deeply in love with their own language and script and if so, will Government desist from imposing any other strange script on the people of other States?

Shri Bhakt Darshan: I have already clarified the point that there is not going to be any imposition at all.

Shri Nath Pai: A few days before he was taken ill, the Prime Minister said that one of the prime factors in strengthening national integration would be a common script. But he left it vague as to what script he had in mind as a common script. Did he have in mind the Devanagari script or did he have in mind the old idea of Roman script?

Mr. Speaker: That is made clear in the statement that it is the Devanagari script.

Shri Nath Pai: He says that the initiative should come from non-Hindi area. It is not very clear, because Maharashtra has Devanagari and it is a non-Hindi area. Does he mean non-Devanagari area or non-Hindi area?

Shri Bhakt Darshan: Non-Devanagari area, Sir, I stand corrected.

डा० लक्ष्मीमल्ल सिंघवी : विवरण में कहा गया है कि गैर-हिन्दी या अ-देवनागरी प्रांतों से पहल की अपेक्षा की जाती है । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि किस प्रकार के पहल की अपेक्षा की जाती है जब कि यह बताया जा चुका है कि सर्व सम्मति से इस बात को स्वीकार किया जा चुका है कि एक समान लिपि ग्रहण कर ली जाये ?

श्री भक्त दर्शन : मैं माननीय सदस्य का ध्यान उस वक्तव्य की ओर दिलाता हूं जिस में मुख्य मंत्रियों ने जहां यह प्रस्ताव स्वीकृत किया है, वहां साथ में यह भी कहा है कि इस सम्बन्ध में बड़ी सतर्कता के साथ आगे बढ़ा जाए ।

डा० लक्ष्मीमल्ल सिंघवी : किस प्रकार की पहल की अपेक्षा की जाती है ....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. If he reads the statement he will find that the answer is given there.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: I have read it very carefully. It says that it will not be imposed unless the initiative comes from the non-Devanagari States. When all the States have agreed to adopt Devanagari script as the common script, I would like to know what kind of initiative is expected of them now?

Shri Kapur Singh: The Government are equating the people with their Chief Ministers.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The answer has come in the reply to many of the supplementaries that have been put from the other side. Let us go to the next question.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Harish Chandra Mathur.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Sir, I put Question No. 35.

Mr. Speaker: I would like to make a request to the hon. Member. Our way of putting the question is by calling out the number. In our rules we have provided that an hon. Member will put the question by calling out the number.

Academy of Engineering

*35. **Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have considered a proposal to set up an Academy of Engineering; and

(b) the nature of the proposal and steps taken to materialize it?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) and (b). There is no proposal to set up an Academy of Engineering, but the All India Council for Technical Education has recommended a Central Institute to conduct research on various problems of technical education. A detailed scheme for the Institute has yet to be formulated.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: In this era of engineering and technology, may I know what importance and priority Government gives to an engineering institute as compared to any other academy which has been established?

Dr. M. M. Das: There was no proposal at any stage to set up an academy of engineering. So the comparison between the two does not come in.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: My question is this. The Government *suo motu* should have given priority to this academy of engineering. I want to know whether they themselves have thought about it instead of waiting for somebody else to make a suggestion?

Dr. M. M. Das: This particular institute which is proposed to be set up will also cover engineering subjects. Engineering is a part of technical education.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know whether this suggestion has come from a person who was at one time the Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research and who is now a little higher up? If so, do I take it that it was only after he left this Ministry that it struck him or he thought about it while he was in the Ministry?

Dr. M. M. Das: So far as our knowledge goes, this proposal is a suggestion from the Chairman of the All India Council for Technical Education who is the Minister of Education in the Government of India. He suggested this in his inaugural speech at the All India Council for Technical Education in their meeting which was held on 8th December, 1963. His suggestion was endorsed by the All India Council for Technical Education, and they recommended that such an institute should be set up.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: May I know whether international standards in engineering will also be taken up in this institute and also whether advance research will be associated with this in order to obviate the necessity of sending our students abroad?

Dr. M. M. Das: As I have said in my original reply, the detailed scheme has not yet been formulated. Every possible consideration would be given to this matter when formulating this scheme.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: May I know whether, instead of forming a separate institute, it would not be desirable to change the existing regional engineering institutes in different parts of the country so as to suit the recommendations that have been made now?

Mr. Speaker: That is a suggestion for action.

Dr. M. M. Das: I think there is some confusion. There are engineering colleges which will give engineering education to our students. This particular institute will be set up to conduct research on the problems are cropping up regarding technical education in the country.

Shri Kapur Singh: I want to ask whether the Government have carefully examined the precise difference between an "academy" an "institute" and a "university" and, if so, why is it that priority is being given to an institute over a university.

Dr. M. M. Das: As I have already stated, there was no proposal to set up an academy. The necessity for the establishment of a research institute has been felt which has also been recommended by the All India Council for Technical Education. The Government of India has accepted this recommendation.

Mr. Speaker: Shri D. C. Sharma.

Shri Kapur Singh: Sir, there has been no reply to my question.

Mr. Speaker: I am sorry for that.

Shri D. C. Sharma: May I know if there is any academy of engineering in any progressive countries of the world and, if so, from which country the hon. Member got this idea to which he referred just now

Dr. M. M. Das: We have not got the information whether any academy of engineering exists in any progressive countries of the world but our day-to-day administration in connection with the propagation and development of technical education tells us that for properly tackling the problems which crop up regarding technical education it is necessary to set up an expert body in the form of a research institute.

Dr. M. S. Aney: May I know whether all matters regarding research of technical matters are excluded from the educational curriculum of the university and academy after the establishment of this institute?

Dr. M. M. Das: The institute which is proposed to be set up will deal with questions regarding the re-organisation of the courses of study, diversification of the fields of training, curricula construction, examination system, wastage, etc.

राज्यों में प्राथमिक विद्यालयों के अध्यापकों के वेतनक्रम

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*३६. श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :
श्री यशपाल सिंह :
श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी :
श्री स० चं० सामन्त :
श्री सुबोध हंसदा :
श्री महेश्वर नायक :
श्री अ० व० राघवन :
श्री पोट्टेकाट्ट :
श्री केप्पन :

क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार के इस आश्वासन के बाद भी कि वह प्राथमिक विद्यालयों के अध्यापकों के वेतनक्रम बढ़ाने पर होने वाले व्यय का आधा भाग वहन करेगी, कई राज्य सरकारों ने उनके वेतनक्रम नहीं बढ़ाये हैं ;

(ख) इस समय सबसे कम वेतनक्रम किस राज्य में हैं ; और

(ग) क्या उन राज्यों को इस सम्बन्ध में फिर कुछ प्रेरणा दी गई है ?

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्रीमती सौंदरम रामचन्द्रन): (क) अधिकतर राज्य सरकारें प्राथमिक अध्यापकों के वेतन बढ़ाने की योजना को कार्यान्वित कर रही हैं ।

(ख) उत्तर प्रदेश ।

(ग) जी नहीं ।

[(a) The majority of the State Governments are implementing the scheme of improvement of salaries for primary teachers.

(b) Uttar Pradesh.

(c) No, Sir.]

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : जैसा कि भूतपूर्व शिक्षा मंत्री डा० श्रीमाली ने अपने एक वक्तव्य में कहा था कि कहीं कहीं प्राथमिक विद्यालयों के अध्यापकों को इतना कम वेतन दिया जाता है जो कि दफ्तरों में काम करने वाले चपड़ासियों से भी बहुत कम है और उस पृष्ठभूमि में यह निर्णय लिया गया था कि उन के वेतनक्रम को कितना बढ़ाया जाय तो क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार जिस ने अभी तक इस दिशा में कोई प्रगति नहीं की है उस से क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार ने यह जानने का यत्न किया कि उन्होंने अपने यहां के अध्यापकों के वेतनक्रम क्यों नहीं बढ़ाये ?

Shrimati Soundaram Ramachandran: Already there is an offer by the Central Government to subsidise when the State Governments increase the salaries of the primary school teachers and bring them on par with that of other Government servants. As Uttar Pradesh is a big State it has got some tens of thousands of teachers. So, it needs more than Rs. 10 crores. That is the reason why it is not increasing the dearness allowance of the primary school teachers as also their salaries, even though they were revised once in the Second Plan period.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : मेरे प्रश्न भाग (ख) के उत्तर में जैसा कि मंत्री महोदय ने बतलाया कि प्राथमिक विद्यालयों के अध्यापकों का सब से कम वेतनक्रम उत्तर-प्रदेश में है और केन्द्रीय सरकार ने राज्य सरकारों को निर्देश दिया है कि जो राज्य अपने वहां के प्राथमिक विद्यालयों के अध्यापकों का वेतन बढ़ायेंग तो उस व्यय का आधा भाग केन्द्रीय सरकार वहन करेगी तो क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि अभी तक कितने राज्य इस प्रकार के हैं जहां कि प्राथमिक विद्यालयों के अध्यापकों का वेतनक्रम नहीं बढ़ाया गया है ?

Shrimati Soundaram Ramachandran: Only Uttar Pradesh and partly Bihar. In Bihar they have raised the salary, but not the dearness allowance, along with other Government servants.

श्री यशपाल सिंह : क्या यह सही है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के प्राइमरी अध्यापकों को जो समय श्रमदान और भूमिदान में देना पड़ना है उस के लिये सरकार उन को कोई ऐक्सट्रा डी०ए० या टी०ए० नहीं देती है ?

श्रीमती सौन्दरम् रामचन्द्रन : मालूम नहीं है ।

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I do not know how my name was clubbed with this **question? My question was quite different.

Mr. Speaker: Does he want to ask any supplementary now? If he wants to bring that to my notice, he might do it differently.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I had asked whether they are discussing this matter with the States' Education Ministers for making education a concurrent subject and for the creation of an all-India educational **service. I do not know how that has been clubbed with this question.

Shri S. C. Samanta: What is the highest pay-scale in a State and is it not equal to the pay-scale of even Class III employees?

**The Member's name had been correctly clubbed on S.Q. 36 for which he had given a separate notice. S.Q. 54 related to All-India Education service and the Member's name was also clubbed to this Question. Ed.

Some Hon. Members: Class IV employees.

Shrimati Soundaram Ramachandran: In any other State or in Uttar Pradesh?

Mr. Speaker: What is the highest?

Shrimati Soundaram Ramachandran: Of all the States Punjab is giving the highest pay plus dearness allowance. It is Rs. 120/-.

Some Hon. Members *rose*—

Mr. Speaker: Not so many at one time. Shri Tiwary.

Shri D. N. Tiwary: In view of the fact that the financial position of all the States is very poor and they are not able to contribute 50 per cent, is the Central Government going to increase the rate of subsidy?

Shrimati Soundaram Ramachandran: This has to be done on an all-India basis not specially for Uttar Pradesh only. All other States have increased the salary scale. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, as I said, are at a very low level. We are offering 50 per cent as it is done to other States. Therefore we have not offered any incentive. But whether 100 per cent aid has to be given on an all-India basis has to be taken into consideration afterwards, not now.

Dr. Sarojini Mahishi: May I know whether it has come to the notice of Government that in some of the States the trainees undergoing teachers' training in a Primary Teachers' Training College are given only a part of their salary as stipend and fresh entrants to the Training Colleges are not given any financial aid at all in spite of the fact that there is a shortage of teachers in the country?

Mr. Speaker: This question is about primary school teachers.

श्री तुलशी दास जाधव : जिस प्रांत अथवा प्रांतों में शिक्षकों को उचित पगार नहीं मिलती है, उन की ताकत व क्षमता अपने अध्यापकों को उचित वेतन देने की नहीं है तो क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार ऐसे प्रांत अथवा प्रांतों की इस बारे में ताक़त बढ़ाने का विचार कर रही है ?

Mr. Speaker: That has already been asked.

श्री विश्राम प्रसाद : क्या उत्तर प्रदेश के अभागे प्राइमरी स्कूलों के अध्यापकों का भी वेतन किसी समय पंजाब गवर्नमेंट द्वारा अपने अध्यापकों को दिये जा रहे वेतन के बराबर बढ़ेगा, यदि हां, तो कब तक और उस में भारत सरकार क्या सहायता देगी ?

Shrimati Soundaram Ramachandran: That is for the State to decide.

Closer Integration of J. & K.

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*37. **Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:**
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri Dhaon:
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri Sidheshwar Prasad:
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 216 on the 27th November, 1963 and state:

(a) whether further steps have been or are being initiated for the closer integration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of the Indian Union; and

(b) if so, the nature thereof?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) and (b). A proposal is under consideration to apply to Jammu and Kashmir State entries 1, 33 and 34 of the Concurrent List in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution for the

purpose of legislation regarding gold control.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Is it not a fact that barring a small but vociferous clique or coteric of vested interests and corrupt elements who have, in the last few weeks, been thoroughly discredited, the comon folk as well as large sectors of political and public opinion in Kashmir have clearly expressed themselves in favour of full integration, political as well as constitutional, and, if this is not so, who exactly are opposed to such integration?

Mr. Speaker: The preliminary might be ignored; the latter portion might be answered.

Shri Nath Pai: In the present context.

Mr. Speaker: I have asked the hon. Member so many times.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): This process has been going on progressively, as has been stated in the House several times. The integration in the political sense is already complete but assimilation of certain provisions of the Constitution has been progressing and the Government's attitude reflects the public opinion. I am sure, much more will follow on the same lines.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: My question was whether it is not a fact that public and political opinion as well as the common-folk have really expressed themselves for integration and, if not, who are opposed.

Mr. Speaker: If he had put this question, then probably the answer would have been clear.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Barring those few elements, the corrupt elements and vested interests.....

Shri Nanda: I have already said that to the extent to which public opinion asserts itself in a certain direction, then naturally the Government also takes that course accordingly. This has happened in the past and it can happen in the future.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Is it a fact that at the present moment even the administrative integration is such a tenuous link, if press reports be correct, that the Central Government cannot depute their officers even in an emergency to the State of Jammu and Kashmir without evoking some sort of resistance on the part of the State Government, to which it succumbs?

Shri Nanda: There is no resistance at all. On the other hand, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir has been very keen to secure all the help that is necessary and I may add that they have already asked us to depute some more officers to strengthen their administration.

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: In the past some steps were taken for closer integration of Jammu and Kashmir State with the rest of India. May I know mainly on whose intiative those steps were taken?

Shri Nanda: It is a mutual consultation.

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: I wanted to know at whose initiative the steps were taken: at the initiative of the National Conference or at the initiative of the State—at whose initiative?

Shri Nanda: In a number of cases, it was at the initiative of the State.

Shri Abdul Ghani Goni: May I know if it is a fact that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the President of the National Conference and Mr. Shamsuddin, the head of the administration there, have announced that a Bill is being introduced in the local Assembly there for some further changes in the Constitution and, if so, what are the details of the changes?

Shri Nanda: These have already been announced. This is in respect of

the change of the name Sadar-i-Riyasat becoming Governor, the Prime Minister becoming Chief Minister and then there is something more about the Members of Parliament.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Because of these recent unfortunate events that have happened in Kashmir, the security of the State is almost in danger. May I know if the Government is alive to the fact that security arrangements are made in which the Centre takes the main part so that the events that have happened in the very recent past may not recur?

Shri Nanda: I do not accept the assumption.

श्री यशपाल सिंह: प्रधान मंत्री ने आश्वासन दिलाया था कि सैक्शन ३७० बहुत दिनों तक रास्ते में हायल नहीं होगा । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि इस में अभी और कितना टाइम लगेगा ।

श्री नन्दा : मैं जवाब दे चुका कि हम वक्तन-फ़वक्तन इस तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं ।

Shri D. C. Sharma: Since every time a step is taken to integrate Jammu and Kashmir with India there occurs an explosion in Pakistan, will it not be good politics to integrate it fully in one step?

Shri Nanda: This consideration will be kept in view by the State concerned.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: May I know whether the Government are extending social and welfare legislation passed by this Parliament to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and, if so, whether they have drawn up any time-table in this respect or any list of enactments to be so extended?

Shri Nanda: Some steps have been taken. I think more will be taken in course of time.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of Mr. Chagla's disclosure at the Security Council to the effect that the people of Jammu and Kashmir State were opposed to the local administration but they have full confidence in the fairness and sense of justice of the Government of India, may I know why it is that Government have not so far tried to examine the position and integrate Kashmir with India in order to fulfil the aspirations of the people there?

Shri Nanda: The question is in two parts. One is about the complete confidence of the people in the Government of India. That is perfectly true. So far as the local administration is concerned, that reference was only in a narrow specific context.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : हजरतबलदरगाह से पवित्र बाल के चोरी होने के पश्चात् जम्मूकश्मीर राज्य में जो उपद्रव हुए थे, उन को शांत कराने में और बाल को प्राप्त कराने में केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों ने एक सराहनीय कार्य किया था और उस आधार पर केन्द्रीय सरकार ने निश्चय किया कि इस प्रकार के कुछ व्यक्ति स्थायी रूप से वहां रखे जायें । क्या मैं जान सकता हूं कि जम्मूकाश्मीर राज्य ने क्या इस के विरोध में कुछ

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इतना लैक्चर नहीं होना चाहिये । क्वेस्टियन आवर में ऐसी तकरीर नहीं होनी चाहिये । माननीय सदस्य सवाल करें ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : मेरा प्रश्न केवल इतना है कि जो सराहनीय कार्य उन अधिकारियों ने किया था, उस के आधार पर उन को वहां रखने का निश्चय किया गया, लेकिन क्या राज्य सरकार ने केन्द्रीय सरकार को कहा है कि उन अधिकारियों को वापस बुलाया जाये ; यदि हां, तो इस बारे में केन्द्रीय सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है ?

श्री नन्दा : कुछ आफिसर्ज, कर्मचारी, यहां से खास कार्य के लिये वहां गए । हम

उन को वहां हमेशा के लिये नहीं बिठा सकते । लेकिन उन के अलावा और आफिसर्ज की वहां जरूरत है । उन्होंने हम को लिखा है और हम उन का इन्तजाम कर रहे हैं ।

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: The hon. Minister without Portfolio had spent a few days in Kashmir: May I know his assessment of the feelings of the people and political parties in respect of integration? He had made certain statements, and they have appeared in the press. May I know his assessment of the people's feelings and those of the political parties regarding integration?

The Minister without Portfolio (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri): The biggest party in Jammu and Kashmir is the National Conference. . .

Shri Nath Pai: It was.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: It is today

Shri Inder J. Malhotra: It is. It is bigger than the Swatantra Party.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: That party is in power and the Premier of that State is still a member and the leader of the National Conference.

Shri Hem Barua: Shri Chagla's statement does not support that statement.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Chagla's statement might have been made in a different context.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri: I am much surprised at these interruptions because what Shri Nath Pai and Shri Hem Barua want is exactly what the National Conference stands for. It is the National Conference which stands for the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India. All the Members of the PSP, especially, Shri Kamath, Shri Nath Pai and Shri Hem Barua have been pressing all the time that there should be complete integration. Therefore, I say that Kashmir as a whole stands for the integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India.

Shri Tyagi: That means that only the Centre stands in the way.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We are happy about it. We are happy to hear this categorical statement.

Shri Ranga: Shri Nanda had said that it was only in a small context that the Government in Kashmir was said to have been out of touch with public opinion and, therefore, unpopular or something like that. Is that the reason why as *The Statesman* itself has said three days ago, the ex-Prime Minister of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, is unable to go out of his house without police escort. . . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Ranga: . . . . because he is stated to be a responsible member?

Mr. Speaker: We are not concerned with that here.

An Hon. Member: That is irrelevant.

Mr. Speaker: Now, Shri Ranga might ask his supplementary question.

Shri Ranga: In the supplementary question that had been asked earlier by Shri Kamath or some other Member, Government were asked to say whether they were aware of the fact, in the light of what Shri Chagla has said at the Security Council, that the present Government in Kashmir was very unpopular. Then, the hon. Minister had said that it was unpopular only in a small context. Therefore, I want him to make it clear.

Mr. Speaker: He said that that statement was made in a particular context.

Shri Ranga: What was that particular context? It was for the hon. Minister to elucidate it.

Mr. Speaker: This is not the occasion when it can be elucidated.

Shri Ranga: Apart from that context, I would like to know this. He was the ex-Prime Minister. He is supposed to be the boss of the whole show. He is supposed to be the leader of the National Conference and he is obliged to remain in his own house. That statement that he cannot go out without police escort shows that his Government as well as he are so unpopular.

Mr. Speaker: After all these suppositions, the hon. Member has had no question to ask.

Shri Sonavane: I would request you, Sir, not to allow these remarks of Shri Ranga to go on record.

Shri Ranga: This is a very serious thing, and let the hon. Minister answer it, or let him say that he will not be able to answer it just now.

Mr. Speaker: Shri S. M. Banerjee.

Shri Nath Pai: I have been standing for some time.

Mr. Speaker: I have called Shri Banerjee.

Shri Ranga: His name also appears in the report.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: How far is it a fact that the present Government of Jammu and Kashmir does not command the confidence of the local people there? If so, what steps are being taken by the Centre to have a thorough investigation made of the charges levelled against the ex-Prime Minister and the present Prime Minister?

Mr. Speaker: That would be a different question.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: It is a direct question.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: The remarks made by Prof. Ranga about Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed are absolutely irrelevant to our purpose and they might be expunged from the proceedings.

Some Hon. Members *rose*—

Mr. Speaker: The Question Hour is over.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Maharashtra Mysore Border Dispute

*38. **Shri B. P. Yadava:**
Shri Dhaon:
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri P. R. Chakraverty:
Shrimati Savitri Nigam:
Shri Kajrolkar:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the border dispute between the Maharashtra and Mysore States has been settled;

(b) if so, the decisions arrived at; and

(c) if not, the reasons for delay?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): (a) No. Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The matter was not pursued because of the emergency.

Price of Fuel

*39. **Shri Bishanchander Seth:**
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Dhaon:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri M. L. Dwivedi:
Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:
Shri Surendra Pal Singh:
Shri P. R. Patel:
Shri D. D. Mantri:
Shri Jashwant Mehta:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the talks between the Gujarat State Government and the Oil and Natural Gas Commission have failed;

(b) if so, the reasons therefor;

(c) whether the question of fixing the prices will be sent to the arbitrator; and

(d) if so, who will be the arbitrator?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) and (b). There is a difference of opinion between the Oil and Natural Gas Commission and the Gujarat Government on the price of natural gas to be supplied by the Commission.

(c) Since the view-points of the two parties could not be reconciled, it has been agreed that the price of gas to be supplied to power houses and the fertilizer company may be referred to arbitration.

(d) The State Government are being consulted regarding the appointment of the arbitrator.

Drilling in Cauvery Basin

*40. **Shri Warior:**
Shri M. K. Kumaran:
Shri Sezhiyan:
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shri S. C. Samanta:
Shri Maheswar Naik:
Shri Sudhansu Das:
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri Balakrishnan:
Shri D. D. Mantri:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that drilling operations were considerably delayed in the Cauvery Basin even after arrival of necessary machinery;

(b) if so, reasons therefor; and

(c) the present position of drilling in that region?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) and (b). Yes, Sir. Delay occurred after the structural rig had arrived at site mainly on account of the difficulty in securing and despatching certain essential spares and materials necessary for starting drilling operations.

(c) Drilling of the first structural well at Pattukkotta was started on 28th October, 1963 and is now in progress. The depth of the well reached on 31st January 1964 was 713 metres.

Barauni and Gauhati Refineries

*41. **Shri Hem Barua:** Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Rumanian Government have offered any assistance for the expansion of Barauni and Gauhati refineries; and

(b) if so, the particulars of the assistance offered and the reaction of the Government of India thereto?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) Yes, Sir, for the Gauhati Refinery.

(b) The details are still awaited.

Barauni and Koyali Refineries

*42. **Shri R. G. Dubey:**
Shri Vishram Prasad:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri Mohan Swarup:
Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:
Shrimati Savitri Nigam:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri D. J. Naik:
Shri Subodh Hansda:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether detailed project reports for the expansion of the capacity of the Barauni and Koyali refineries from 2 million to 3 million tons have been prepared; and

(b) if so, the salient features thereof

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) These are under preparation by the Soviet authorities.

(b) Does not arise.

स्वामी विवेकानन्द की मुर्ति

*४३. श्री विश्राम प्रसाद :
श्री हरि विष्णु कामत :
श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद :
श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री :
श्री यशपाल सिंह :
श्री मोहन स्वरूप :
श्री प्र० रं० चक्रवर्ती :
श्री प्र० चं० बरुआ :

क्या शिक्षा मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि ३०० संसद् सदस्यों ने केन्द्रीय सरकार से प्रार्थना की है कि स्वामी विवेकानन्द की मूर्ति कन्या कुमारी में उस चट्टान पर स्थापित की जाये जिस पर तपस्या की थी; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो सरकार ने इस विषय में क्या निर्णय किया है ?

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन) : (क) जी हां ।

(ख) इस सम्बन्ध में राज्य सरकार ही निर्णय कर सकती है ।

काशी विद्यापीठ, वाराणसी

*४४. **श्री विभूति मिश्र** : क्या शिक्षा मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग ने काशी विद्यापीठ, वाराणसी को विश्वविद्यालय के रूप में मान्यता दे दी है ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो क्या यह भी सच है कि विद्यापीठ को उचित अनुदान देने, एम० ए० (अर्थशास्त्र) पाठ्यक्रम चालू करने तथा अन्य संस्थान तथा विभाग खोलने में विभिन्न प्रकार की तकनीकी दिक्कतें खड़ी की जा रही हैं ; और

(ग) यदि हां, तो इस राष्ट्रीय महत्व की संस्था का शीघ्र विकास करने के लिये सरकार क्या कदम उठाने का विचार कर रही है ?

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन) : (क) विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग अधिनियम की धारा ३ के अन्तर्गत, यह घोषित किया गया है कि काशी विद्यापीठ, वाराणसी को विश्वविद्यालय समझा जाए ।

(ख) और (ग). जी नहीं । वर्तमान स्थिति यह है कि आयोग ने अपनी सामान्य क्रियाविधि के अनुसार संस्था की विकास सम्बन्धी आवश्यकताओं को आंकने के लिए

एक निरीक्षण समिति नियुक्त की है ।इस समिति की रिपोर्ट पर विचार करने के बाद, आयोग, विद्यापीठ के विकास के लिए ऐसे उपायों की सिफारिश करेगा जो विद्यापीठ द्वारा अपनाएं जाने चाहिए और उसके कार्यक्रम को कार्यान्वित करने के लिए आवश्यक सहायता की भी व्यवस्था करेगा ।

Admission to Delhi Colleges

*45. **Shri Shiv Charan Gupta:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that every year there is a rush for admission in Delhi Colleges for admission to Pre-medical, B. Com., B. Sc. and B. A. Pass course; and

(b) if so, the steps Delhi University propose to take to check such rush in 1964?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) It is proposed to open two more colleges from the next academic session.

Arrest of Pakistani Boatmen

*46. **Shri D. D. Puri:**
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri A. V. Raghavan:
Shri Pottekkatt:
Shri Kappen:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have arrested 29 Pakistani boatmen entering the Calcutta port area on the 29th December, 1963 illegally; and

(b) the action Government propose to take against the arrested boatmen and to check such illegal entries in the port area in future?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) Yes Sir.

(b) Their cases are under investigation.

Limited Competitive Exam. for I.A.S.

*47. **Shri N. R. Laskar:**
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shrimati Savitri Nigam:
Shri M. L. Dwivedi:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 215 on the 27th November, 1963 and state:

(a) whether any fresh efforts have been made for starting a limited competitive examination for I. A. S.; and

(b) if so, the result thereof?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): (a) and (b). The State Governments are being requested to reconsider the scheme for holding limited competitive examinations.

Oceanographic Work

*48. **Shri D. C. Sharma:** Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) the progress made in arriving at an agreement with U. S. S. R. for the supply of a ship and other requirements for specialised oceanographic work; and

(b) the terms of the agreement, if finalised?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) and b) No agreement has yet been arrived at. The specifications of the oceanographic equipment and ship are being drawn up.

Whitley Councils

*49. **Shri J. B. S. Bist:**
Shri S. M. Banerjee:
Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any replies have been received to the circular sent by the Government to the organisations of Central Government Employees regarding setting up of Whitley Councils for the employees; and

(b) if so, whether any final decision has been taken regarding implementation of the proposal?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): (a) and (b). Certain points in respect of the Scheme for Joint Consultation and Compulsory Arbitration have been raised by the Unions and Associations of Government servants. They have been discussed with the representatives of certain employees' organisations, and further discussions are to be held with the representatives of the Major Federations, Unions and Associations. In the meantime Ministries and Departments have been advised to draw up detailed schemes, so that once the various doubts and difficulties have been resolved by discussion with the employees' organisations, there may be no further delay in setting up the Councils.

Durgapur Fertilizer Project

*50. **Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:**
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shri S. C. Samanta:
Shri Sudhansu Das:
Shri S. M. Banerjee:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have taken any decision on the report of the Fertilizer Corporation of India about the proposed Durgapur Fertilizer Project;

(b) whether final project report for this fertilizer plant has been approved and necessary foreign exchange for obtaining plants and equipments obtained; and

(c) who will implement the Durgapur Fertilizer Project.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Alagesan): (a) Not yet, Sir.

(b) and (c). Do not arise at this stage.

Oil Production in Ankleshwar Oil Fields

*51. **Shri D. J. Naik:**
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state the steps taken for increasing the production of oil in Ankleshwar oil fields?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): The drilling is being intensified and more wells are being connected to the oil collecting stations. Other ancillary arrangements are also being undertaken to step up production to 1·75 million tonnes in December, 1964.

Disturbances in West Bengal

*52. **Shri P. R. Chakraverti:**
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri M. L. Dwivedi:
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Dhaon:
Shri Shiv Charan Gupta:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:
Shri D. D. Mantri:
Shri S. M. Banerjee:
Shri Hem Raj:
Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:
Dr. U. Misra:
Dr. Ranen Sen:
Shri G. Mohanty:
Shri Sarjoo Pandey:
Shri Indrajit Gupta:
Shri Kajrolkar:
Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:
Shri Kishen Pattnayak:
Shri Bade:
Shri Ram Sewak Yadav:
Shri Bagri:
Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda:
Shri Koya:
Shri H. C. Soy:
Shri Tan Singh:
Shri Gulshan:
Shri S. N. Chaturvedi:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether he visited Calcutta during the communal disturbances, early in January, 1964;

(b) the number of persons killed in Calcutta and other places in West Bengal as a result of riots and the police action; and

(c) the arrangements made to deal with the riot situation and rehabilitation of riot victims?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) 208 persons were killed as a result of rioting and 56 died due to police action.

(c) I have already made a statement in the House yesterday and have also laid on the table a longer statement in regard to the disturbance covering all aspects of the unfortunate occurrences.

New Universities

*53. Shri Warior:
Shri M. K. Kumaran:
Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Dhaon:
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri S. M. Banerjee:
Shri J. N. Hazarika:
Shri Koya:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the final report of the Committee on Establishment of New Universities had been received; and

(b) if so, the salient features thereof?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

All India Educational Service

*54. Shri Vishram Prasad:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri N. R. Laskar:
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shri Sidheshwar Prasad:
Shri Kolla Venkaiah:
Shri R. Barua:
Shri Umanath:
Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:
Shri P. C. Barooah:
Shri S. C. Samanta:
Shri Maheswar Naik:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government propose to have an All-India Educational Service;

(b) if so, whether this proposal has been approved by the State Governments; and

(c) the names of the States who have approved this proposal and of those who have opposed and their reasons for opposing the same?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shrimati Soundaram Ramachandran): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). All State Governments except Punjab, Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra have agreed in principle to the formation of the Service. The Punjab Government have not yet taken a decision while Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra have stated that they do not see any advantage in the formation of the Service. The Government of Maharashtra feel that the creation of such a Service may lead to weakening of State initiative and control while the Madhya Pradesh Government is of the view that such a Service is neither necessary nor desirable.

Fertilizer Unit at Rourkela

*55. **Shri Yashpal Singh:**
Shri Krishna Pal Singh:
Shri Maheswar Naik:
Shri Himmatsinghji:
Shri P .K. Ghosh:
Shri Narasimha Reddy:
Shri D. J. Naik:
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shri S. C. Samanta:
Shri Sudhansu Das:
Shri Shashi Ranjan:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Fertilizer Corporation has taken over the Rourkela Unit;

(b) if not, the main reasons for the delay; and

(c) the steps being taken to solve the deadlock?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Alagesan): (a) Yes, Sir, with effect from 1-4-1963.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) There is no deadlock but issues arising out of the transfer are under consideration of Government.

Physical Education

*56. **Shri N. R. Laskar:**
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:
Shri Subodh Hansda:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred Question No. 73 on the 20th November, 1963 and state:

(a) the action taken for bringing about co-ordination in various schemes of physical education based on the recommendations made by the Kunzru Committee; and

(b) whether State Governments have been consulted for proper implementation of these recommendations, and if so, their reaction thereto?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) The report of the Kunzru Committee was submitted to the Government on the 12th December, 1963 and is being examined.

(b) Not so far, Sir.

Revision of Lists of S. C. and S. T.

*57. **Shri D. C. Sharma:**
Shri Hem Raj:
Shri P. L. Barupal:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) the progress made in the work of revision of lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; and

(b) when it is likely to be completed and the changes proposed to be made?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shrimati Chandrasekhar): (a) and (b). The

work of revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is in active progress and efforts are being made to finalise decisions soon on the changes proposed by the State Governments.

Petroleum Refineries During Fourth Plan

58. **Shri P. C. Borooah:**
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri Maheswar Naik:
Shri A. N. Vidyalankar:
Shri Dinen Bhattacharya:
Dr. U. Misra:
Dr. Ranen Sen:
Shri S. B. Patil:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether a target for petroleum refining capacity for the Fourth Plan has been fixed;

(b) if so, at what level; and

(c) whether there has been a radical change in the Government policy in this respect and if so, what?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) to (c). No, Sir.

Madras Oil Refinery

*59. **Shri P. C. Borooah:**
Shri Nath Pai:
Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:
Shri Maheswar Naik:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri Indrajit Gupta:
Shri Hem Barua:
Shri Warior:
Shri Vasudevan Nair:
Shri M. K. Kumaran:
Shri Nambiar:
Shri R. Barua:
Shri J. B. S. Bist:
Shri Onkar Lal Berwa:
Shri Umanath:
Shri Sezhiyan:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:
Shri Himatsingka:
Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:
Shri Brij Raj Singh:
Shri D. D. Mantri:
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shri P. C. Deo Bhanj:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Burmah Oil Co. and Shell international have made a new offer for participation in the Madras Oil Refinery project;

(b) if so, the main terms of the offer; and

(c) the Government's decision thereon?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The main feature of the proposal is to offer 51 percent of the equity capital to Government of India.

(c) The proposal is under examination.

Burmah Shell Refinery Agreement

*60. **Shri Warior:**
Shri Vasudevan Nair:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Dhaon:
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government had notified the Burmah

Shell that the existing licence of the company would have to be terminated before long; and

(b) whether they have intimated the Government any conditions to be included in a new agreement?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) No, Sir.

(b) The refining company have offered to terminate the existing refinery agreement on certain conditions. This proposal is under discussion with the company's representatives.

नव नालंदा महाविहार

९२. **श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद** : क्या शिक्षा मन्त्री १८ दिसम्बर, १९६३ के अतारांकित प्रश्न संख्या १८५५ के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या नव नालन्दा महा-विहार की पुनर्स्थापना के लिये नियुक्त की गई समिति ने अपनी सिफारिश दे दी हैं ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो वे क्या हैं और सरकार ने उन पर क्या निश्चय किया है ;

(ग) यदि नहीं, तो विलम्ब के क्या कारण हैं ; और

(घ) उक्त समिति के सभापति और सदस्यों के नाम क्या हैं ?

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन): (क) से (ग). नालन्दा के नव नालन्द महाविहार और ह्यु न सांग मेमोरियल हाल के कार्यकलापों में सर्वोत्तम समन्वय के लिए भारत सरकार ने जो समिति बनाई थी उसकी अभी तक कोई बैठक नहीं हो सकी है ।

(घ) समिति में निम्नलिखित सदस्य हैं :—

(१) सचिव, भारत सरकार, शिक्षा मन्त्रालय (विज्ञान विभाग) नई दिल्ली . . अध्यक्ष

(२) पटना खण्ड के कमिश्नर तथा नव नालन्द महा विहार, नालन्दा की कार्यकारिणी समिति के प्रधान . उपाध्यक्ष

(३) उप वित्त सलाहकार, भारत सरकार, शिक्षा मन्त्रालय, नई दिल्ली . सदस्य

(४) प्रो० के० ए० नीलकान्त शास्त्री 'नीलेश्वर', एडवर्ड इलियट रोड, मद्रास . ,,

(५) प्रो० पी० वी० बापत, स्वाध्याय, ७७२ शिवाजी नगर पूना . ,,

(६) उप-कुलपति, मगध विश्वविद्यालय, बौद्ध गया . ,,

(७) सचिव, बिहार सरकार, शिक्षा विभाग, पटना . ,,

(८) महानिदेशक, पुरातत्व भारत का पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण, नई दिल्ली . ,,

(९) सचिव, बिहार सरकार, वित्त विभाग, पटना . . ,,

(१०) निदेशक, नव नालन्द महा-विहार, नालन्दा . . ,,

(११) अनु सचिव, भारत सरकार शिक्षा मन्त्रालय, नई दिल्ली ,,

Natural Gas

93. Shri P. R. Patel: Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state the amount of natural gas produced and sold in Assam during 1963 and the names of the in-

dustries to whom it is sold and at what price?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): During 1963, Oil India Limited produced 5,789 million cubic feet of natural gas and sold 2,332 million cubic feet of gas to Assam Oil Company and Derial Tea Estate. Oil India Limited charged per 1,000 cubic feet an interim price of 45 naye paise to Assam Oil Company and 56 naye paise to Derial Tea Estate.

Memorial to Anagarika Dharampala

94. Shri Ram Harkh Yadav: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that a Memorial is to be erected in Sarnath in memory of Anagarika Dharampala, the great pioneer of Buddhist revival in India;

(b) if so, the Government's role in the scheme; and

(c) the contribution of Government in the implementation of the memorial scheme?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) Government have no information.

(b) and (c). None, as Government have not been approached so far.

Noonmati Furnace Oil

95. Shri P. C. Borooah: Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1111 on 4th December, 1963 and state:

(a) whether an agreement has been reached between the Indian Refineries Limited and the Assam State Electricity Board for supply of Noonmati Furnace Oil and Light Diesel Oil for generation of power;

(b) the terms of the agreement; and

(c) the quantity of these products to be spared for the purpose, and the increase in power generation capacity to be achieved thereby?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) The parties have agreed on broad principles but no formal agreement has been reached.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The estimated offtake is 60,000 tonnes per year for each of the two products but the requirement of Furnace oil may go up.

The Assam State Electricity Board is putting up one 12.5 megawatt Gas Turbine set utilising Light Diesel Oil and proposes to put up one 30 megawatt Thermal Station using Furnace Oil.

Elementary School Buildings and Staff Quarters

96. Shri R. G. Dubey:
Shri Vishram Prasad:
Shri Warior:
Shri Vasudevan Nair:
Shri D. J. Naik:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Central Government have agreed to advance loans to the States for the construction of elementary school buildings and staff quarters for woman teachers in rural areas; and

(b) if so, details of the scheme?

The Minister of Education (Shri M. C. Chagla): (a) and (b). The matter is under consideration.

Writing of Indian History

97. **Shri R. G. Dubey:**
Shri Vishram Prasad:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the address of Prof. H. K. Sherwani to the History Congress delivered at Poona; and

(b) if so, whether Government are considering the suggestions made by the Professor on writing Indian history from a proper perspective?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) and (b). Government have not yet received the original text of Prof. H. K. Sherwani's address delivered at the History Congress at Poona. It has been called for and suggestions contained therein would be examined after the text is received.

Chinese Internees

98. **Shri Maheswar Naik:**
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri P. C. Borooah:
Shri D. D. Mantri:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of Chinese nationals interned since the declaration of Emergency; and

(b) the number repatriated to China, the number released and the number still interned?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) 2288.

(b) (i) Number repatriated to China .. 1654

(ii) Number released 54

(iii) Number still interned 566

Appointment of Primary School Teachers

99. **Shri Maheswar Naik:**
Shri Sidheshwar Prasad:
Shri Maniyangadan:
Shri Bibhuti Mishra:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Central Government have now decided to give additional monetary assistance to States for appointment of primary school teachers on the basis of number of children not attending the school;

(b) whether any census has been taken of such children and if so, the figures as per latest assessment for each of the States; and

(c) the financial assistance so far given to each of such States?

The Minister of Education (Shri M. C. Chagla): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). A statement is laid on the Table of the House. [*Placed in Library. See* No. LT-2260/64].

Excavations near Allahabad

100. **Shri Vishram Prasad:**
Shri R. G. Dubey:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that ruins of a Khajuraho-type temple dating back to the 11th Century have been excavated at village Jamshet about 70 miles from Allahabad;

(b) if so, the steps taken to protect these; and

(c) whether further excavations would be carried out at the site?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). The discovery has been made recently and the question is being examined.

Tibbia College Enquiries

101. **Shri Bibhuti Mishra:**
Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri Yashpal Singh:
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Dhaon:
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri Shiv Charan Gupta:
Shrimati Savitri Nigam:
Shri D. D. Puri:
Shri P. R. Chakraverti:
Shri Pradash Vir Shastri:
Shri Umanath:
Shri P. C. Borooah:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Government have closed the inquiry into the incidents near the Tibbia College in Delhi and in front of the nearby Police Station in 1963; and

(b) if so, the reasons therefor?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The decision to close the inquiry was taken following a representation to that effect from the Students' Action Committee of the Tibbia College.

नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा

१०२. श्री विभूति मिश्र : क्या शिक्षा मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि सरकार ने नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी (उत्तर प्रदेश) को उसके द्वारा प्रकाशित हिन्दी शब्द सागर के संशोधन एवं संवर्द्धन के लिए कोई अनुदान दिया है ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो कितनी राशि और किस-किस तारीख को दी गई;

(ग) क्या यह सच है कि इस कार्य में सभा ने कोई प्रगति नहीं की है ; और

(घ) यदि हां, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं ?

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन) : (क) जी हां ।

(ख)	रुपये
११-३-१९५४	२०,०००
३०-९-१९५५	२०,०००
२७-१२-१९५६	२०,०००
२२-१-१९५८	२०,०००
१२-५-१९५९	१०,०००
२४-१०-१९६१	१०,०००
१-१-१९६३	३२,५००
कुल	१,३२,५००

(ग) और (घ). 'अ' से 'ओ' तक शुरू होने वाले शब्दों का पुनर्विलोकन पूरा हो चुका है तथा व्यंजन से शुरू होने वाले शब्दों पर कार्य चालू है । कार्य के बारे में नवीनतम प्रगति रिपोर्ट सभा से अभी प्राप्त नहीं हुई है ।

High Court for Delhi

103. **Shri Yashpal Singh:**
Shri Dhaon:
Shri B. P. Yadava:
Shri Bishanchander Seth:
Shri D. C. Sharma:
Shri N. R. Laskar:
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey:
Shri Bade:

Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Delhi Administration has suggested the constitution of a separate High Court for Delhi; and

(b) if so, the reaction of Central Government thereto?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The matter is under consideration.

Primary Education

104. **Shri N. R. Laskar:**
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:
Shri Subodh Hansda:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether draft scheme for the development of Primary Education under the Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans has been finalised; and

(b) if so, the main features of the scheme?

The Minister of Education (Shri M. C. Chagla): (a) and (b). The scheme is under consideration.

Educational Facilities for the Blind

105. **Shri N. R. Laskar:**
Shri Ramachandra Ulaka:
Shri Subodh Hansda:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the project to expand educational facilities for blind children and for training blind adults in farming has been finalised;

(b) whether Government also have a plan target to cover the entire country by this scheme during the next successive plans; and

(c) if so, the detailed report thereof?

The Minister of Education (Shri M. C. Chagla) (a) Not yet.

(b) and (c). This is an experimental project and future targets will depend on the success of the proposed project.

Oil in Vypeen Island, Kerala

106. Shri A. K. Gopalan: Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any investigation has been carried out in the Vypeen Island in Kerala to find out oil; and

(b) if so, the result thereof?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) Yes, Sir. The investigation is still in progress.

(b) Several samples have been collected from the mud-banks off the west coast of Vypeen Island. These have yielded fauna and flora of recent age, and have not indicated the presence of oil.

बिहार में आदिमजातियों के खण्ड

१०७. श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद : क्या गृह-कार्य मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि बिहार राज्य में कुछ विकास खण्डों को आदिमजातीय खंडों में बदलने का निश्चय किया गया है ;

(ख) यदि हां, तो इसके क्या कारण हैं; और

(ग) उनकी मुख्य-मुख्य बातें क्या होंगी ?

गृह-कार्य मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्रीमती चन्द्र शेखर) : (क) जी हां ।

(ख) यह अनुभव किया गया था, कि आदिम जाति क्षेत्रों में सामुदायिक विकास खण्डों के सामान्य प्रोग्रामों से (जो कि साधारणत बहुत ही अविकसित क्षेत्रों के

लिये होते हैं) अधिकतम प्रभावी परिणाम निकालने के हेतु उन्हें विकसित तथा इन क्षेत्रों की आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार बनाना आवश्यक है । यह विकास किसी खण्ड को थोड़ी जनसंख्या के लिये बनाने तथा अधिक धनराशि लगाने से प्राप्त हो सकता है ।

(ग) (१) सामान्यत: एक सामुदायिक विकास खण्ड लगभग ६६,००० जनसंख्या के लिये होता है, परन्तु आदिमजाति विकास खण्डों के सम्बन्ध में जनसंख्या केवल २५,००० होती है, जिनमें कम से कम ६६⅔ प्रतिशत आदिम जातियों के व्यक्ति हों ।

(२) एक आदिम जाति विकास खण्ड सामान्यत: १५०–२०० वर्गमील के क्षेत्र में होता है ।

(३) प्रथम स्थिति में पांच वर्ष के लिये सामान्य सामुदायिक विकास खण्ड का बजट १२ लाख रुपये होता है, जबकि आदिमजाति विकास खण्ड के लिये यह राशि २२ लाख रुपये होती है ।

(४) सामान्यत: सामुदायिक विकास खण्ड का बजट योजनाबद्ध किसी आदिमजाति खण्ड के लिये जहां कि अधिक आनभ्यता की आवश्यकत होती है, ताकि प्राप्त राशि उस क्षेत्र की विशेष परिस्थितियों, समस्याओं और आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार उतमोत्तम ढंग से प्रयोग की जा सके, कोई कड़ा योजनाबद्ध आधार लागू नहीं होता । परन्तु ऐसी आशा है, कि विकास योजनाओं के लिये प्राप्त राशि में से लगभग ६० प्रतिशत "आर्थिक उत्थान" पर २५ प्रतिशत "संचार" पर तथा शेष १५ प्रतिशत अन्य योजनाओं जैसे स्वास्थ्य, पीने के पानी आदि के लिये व्यय किया जायगा ।

Education for Floating Population

108. Shri Sidheshwar Prasad: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether in every State there are High Schools and Colleges giving instruction in Hindi and English for the floating population; and

(b) if so, the number thereof in each State?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan):

(a) and (b). This information has not been collected so far. During 1963-64, twenty schools as per statement laid on the table of the House. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-2261/64], have joined the Central Schools Scheme, which provides instruction through English and Hindi.

Funds for University Development

109. Shri Sidheshwar Prasad: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Vice-Chancellors' Conference held in October, 1962 urged that the funds required for university development should be made available through the University Grants Commission instead of dividing them between the Commission and the State Governments;

(b) if so, whether the reactions of the State Governments and the Planning Commission have been ascertained in this matter; and

(c) the steps, if any, taken in the matter?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). It was suggested to the State Governments earlier that they should agree not to draw from the Central Government a certain proportion of development funds which instead should be placed at the disposal of the University Grants Commission to enable them to finance the development schemes of all Universities on a hundred per cent basis. The reaction of the State Governments was generally unfavourable. In January, 1961,

the Higher Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education also considered this matter, but did not find itself in a position to make any recommendation on the proposal.

In the circumstances, the matter was not pursued further either with the State Governments or the Planning Commission.

Period for First Educational Degree

110. Shri Sidheshwar Prasad: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Vice-Chancellors' Conference held in October, 1962 recommended that the period for first degree should be 15 years and not 14 years as at present; and

(b) if so, the nature of decision taken in the matter?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) The relevant recommendation is as under:—

"The period of school and college study required for the first degree should be 15 years and not 14 years as at present."

(b) Government of India have taken no decision in the matter.

Warnings to Newspapers under D.I.R.

111. Shri D. C. Sharma: Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any warnings or notices for penal action were issued to any newspapers by Central Government under the Defence of India Rules during the last three months;

(b) if so, to whom and under what circumstances; and

(c) the action taken in the matter?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) No, Sir.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

प्राइमरी स्कूलों के लिए इमारतें

११२. **श्री सरजू पाण्डेय :**
श्री पु० र० पटेल :

क्या शिक्षा मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने प्राइमरी स्कूलों के लिये इमारतें बनवाने के लिए राज्य सरकारों को ऋण अथवा अनुदान देने का निश्चय किया है; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो कितने राज्यों ने उक्त ऋण अथवा अनुदान लेने के लिये अपने अनुमान केन्द्रीय सरकार को भेजे हैं और प्रत्येक राज्य को कितनी राशि स्वीकार की गई है ?

शिक्षा मंत्री (श्री मु० क० चागला) : (क) और (ख). ऋण देने की योजना विचाराधीन है ।

Private Colleges in Punjab

113. Shri Hem Raj: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the University Grants Commission proposes to stop the grants which it was giving to private colleges in Punjab;

(b) if so, the reasons therefor; and

(c) the number and names of such colleges which are to be deprived of this grant?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): (a) to (c). No Sir. The

grants sanctioned to four colleges only were, however, revoked by the University Grants Commission. The names of these colleges and the reasons for the action taken are as follows:—

	College	Amount of grant	Purpose of grant	Reason for revocation
1.	D.A.V. College, Amritsar	Rs. 35,056	Construction of library building.	The college did not start construction work within one year of the sanction of the grant.
2.	R. K. Arya College, Nawanshahr Doaba.	Rs. 5,000	Hobby Workshop	Panjab University recommended stopping of grants on account of serious complaints against the college.
3.	S. D. College, Hoshiarpur.	Future grants		A disaffiliation notice is pending against the college.
4.	Saraswati Training College for Women, Amritsar.	Rs. 1,01,789	Construction of Women's Hostel.	There is a notice for the disaffiliation of this college and Panjab Univesity recommended the stopping of grants.

तीन वर्षीय ग्राम सेवा पाठ्यक्रम

११४. **श्री नोहन स्वरूप** : क्या शिक्षा मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि अखिल भारतीय विश्वविद्यालय बोर्ड ने केन्द्रीय शिक्षा मंत्रालय का यह सुझाव अस्वीकार कर दिया है कि बोर्ड को तीन वर्ष के ग्राम सेवा पाठ्यक्रम को मान्यता न देने के निर्णय पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिये;

(ख) यदि हां, तो इस के अस्वीकार किय जाने के क्या कारण हैं;

(ग) क्या यह भी सच है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने उपरोक्त पाठ्यक्रम को सरकारी सेवाओं के प्रयोजन के लिये मान्यता प्रदान कर दी है और केन्द्रीय सरकार चाहती थी कि विश्वविद्यालय भी शिक्षा सम्बन्धी प्रयोजनों से मान्यता प्रदान करें; और

(घ) वर्तमान स्थिति में सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है ?

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में उपमंत्री (श्री भक्त दर्शन) : (क) और (ख). वाराणसी में २९ से ३१ दिसम्बर, १९६३ तक हुई भारतीय अन्तर्विश्वविद्यालय बोर्ड की पिछली बैठक का कार्यवृत्त अभी तक सरकार को प्राप्त नहीं हुआ है। परन्तु ऐसा पता चला है कि बोर्ड ने शिक्षक प्रशिक्षण कालेजों या शिक्षा कालेजों में दाखिले के लिये ग्राम सेवा में डिप्लोमा को मान्यता देने के प्रस्ताव पर विचार किया था किन्तु उसे स्वीकार नहीं किया।

अर्थशास्त्र, समाजशास्त्र, इतिहास और मानवशास्त्र में इसी प्रकार की पाठ्य-प्रणालियों के उत्तर-स्नातक अध्ययन में दाखिले के लिये ग्राम सेवा में डिप्लोमा को बोर्ड द्वारा पहले जो मान्यता प्रदान की गई थी वह अब भी ज्यों की त्यों है।

(ग) जी हां।

(घ) भारतीय अन्तर्विश्वविद्यालय बोर्ड से इस सम्बन्ध में अभी और आगे बातचीत करने का विचार है क्योंकि सभी विश्वविद्यालय स्वायत्त संस्थायें हैं और भारत सरकार एसेगैजणिक मामलों में उन्हें कोई निदेश नहीं दे सकती।

तेल शोधनशालायें

११५. श्री मोहन स्वरूप :
श्री यशपाल सिंह :
श्री प्र० चं० बरुआ :
श्री रा० बरुआ :
श्री प्र० रं० चक्रवर्ती :
श्री सं० ब० पाटिल :

क्या पैट्रोलियम तथा रसायन मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि सरकार का देश में आठ तेल शोधक कारखाने स्थापित करने का विचार है;

(ख) यदि हां, तो योजना की रूप रेखा क्या है; और

(ग) योजना पर कितना खर्च होने का अनुमान है और तेल शोधक कारखानों की अनुमित क्षमता क्या होगी ?

पैट्रोलियम और रसायन मंत्री (श्री हुमायून कबिर) : (क) और (ख). वर्ष १९६७ में मद्रास और कलकत्ता क्षेत्रों में एक-एक शोधन शाला स्थापित और पूर्ण करने का प्रस्ताव है। चौथी चतुर्वर्षीय योजना के शेष वर्षों में स्थापित की जाने वाली अतिरिक्त शोधन-शालायें अभी परीक्षणाधीन हैं ।

(ग) मद्रास और कलकत्ता की शोधन-शालायें प्रतिवर्ष २५-२५ लाख टन कच्चे तेल को शोधन करने की क्षमता रखेंगी। परियोजनाओं के तफसील में परीक्षण तथा स्वीकृति के बाद ही अनुमानित खर्चा जाना जायगा ।

Drilling in Tiruchnapalli

116. Shri Nambiar: Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any progress has been made in the drilling for oil and lignite in Tiruchnapalli and adjacent districts of Madras State; and

(b) the further steps contemplated in finding out oil, gas and lignite in this region?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) and (b). A structural well is being drilled near Pattukkotai in Tanjore District. It is also proposed to drill a deep well near Tittacherry village in Tanjore District, about 5 miles south-west of Karaikal. Drilling of this deep well is likely to start during the next few months.

The object of drilling these wells is to obtain the sub-surface geological information necessary for further oil exploration in the area. Structural drilling will be continued in this area. Also, depending upon the results obtained from the first deep well, some more deep wells may have to be drilled, in this area.

Information in respect of lignite is the concern of the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Heavy Engineering.

Traffic Drive in Delhi

117. Shri P. C. Borooah: Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state:

(a) the number of persons prosecuted in the two traffic drives launched in Delhi in 1963 and in January, 1964;

(b) the total amount of fines recovered and the maximum amount of penalty imposed on any one; and

(c) how many of those prosecuted were pedestrians and how many of them were women and children?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) 21,228.

(b) (i) Total amount of fines—Rs. 3,02,053;

(ii) Maximum fine imposed in any single case—Rs. 200/-.

(c) (i) Number of pedestrians prosecuted—153;

(ii) Number of woman prosecuted
(iii) Number of Children prosecuted
} Age-wise or sex wise records are not maintained by Traffic Police.

तेल के मूल्य

११८. **श्री ओंकारलाल बेरवा** : क्या पेट्रोलियम तथा रसायन मंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि हमारे देश में अंकलेश्वर तथा अन्य स्थानों पर तेल का उत्पादन होता है; और

(ख) यदि हां, तो आयात किये गये तथा देशीय तेल के मूल्यों में कितना अन्तर है ?

पेट्रोलियम और रसायन मंत्री (श्री हुमायूं कबिर) : (क) जी, हां ।

(ख) विदेश से आये अशुद्ध तेल की लैण्डिड प्राइस (landed price), खलीज फारस में एफ० ओ० बी० (f.o.b.) मूल्य, हमारी बन्दरगाहों तक समुद्री भाड़े, बीमा, समुद्र में होने वाली हानि और पतन-प्रभार (port charges) पर निर्धारित की जाती है; और इस का सम्बन्ध तेल के गुण और विशेषता से होता है । तेल और प्राकृतिक गैस आयोग Oil and Natural Gas Commisson द्वारा उत्पादित गुजरात प्रदेश के अशुद्ध तेल का मूल्य, इस तेल के बढ़िया होने के कारण विदेश से आये अशुद्ध तेल के मूल्य के मुकाबले में ८ से १० रुपये तक अधिक होता है । सरकारी शोधनशालाओं को आयल इण्डिया लिमिटिड (जिस में भारत सरकार और बर्मा आयल कम्पनी का बराबर का स्वामित्व है) द्वारा सप्लाई किये जाने वाले आसाम प्रदेश के अशुद्ध तेल का मूल्य सरकार और कम्पनी के बीच में हुए व्यापारिक समझौते पर आधारित है । इस समझौते में उत्पादन करने वाली कम्पनी को प्राप्त होने वाले न्यूनतम प्रतिलाभ के आधार पर मूल्य का आकलन करने का उल्लेख है । इसलिये उत्पादित मात्रा के अनुसार मूल्य में परिवर्तन होता रहता है ।

Indian Institute of Technology, Madras

119. **Shri P. K. Ghosh:**
Shri Narasimha Reddy:

Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether an Institute of Technology has recently been set up in Madras with West German collaboration;

(b) if so, the extent and nature of collaboration; and

(c) the number and other details of German Professors in the Institute?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Government of Federal Republic of Germany have agreed to give the following assistance in the establishment of the Institute:

(i) Workshop and Laboratory equipment and Library of value not exceeding 15 Million (or approx. Rs. 1·8 crores).

(ii) 20 German Professors to serve at the Institute for a period of about 4-5 years.

(iii) Five German Foremen for the workshops of the Institute for a period of not less than two years.

(iv) One German Adviser to the Government of India.

(v) Facilities for the training of 20 Indian teachers in German institutions.

(c) At present 7 German Professors are working at the Institute:

(1) Mechanical Engineering	3
(2) Physics	1
(3) Hydraulics	1

(4) Electrical Engineering 1

(5) Applied Mechanics 1

Indian Institute of Technology, Madras

120. Shri P. K. Ghosh: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the attention of the Government of India has been drawn to a report in the U.S.I.S. News Bulletin and in some of the leading papers that a Research grant of over one lakh of rupees has been granted for the conduct of Research in the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras;

(b) if so, the research for which the grant has been awarded and how far the research has progressed, if already started; and

(c) whether in making this grant the U.S. Government has obtained clearance and approval of the Government of India?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) No, Sir. However, a proposal for research submitted by a former Assistant Professor in the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras involving a grant of Rs. 103,800 was approved by the National Bureau of Standards of U.S.A. under a scheme, financed from out of PL-480 rupee funds, for research projects of Indian nationals working in universities and institutions in this country. The grant has not been availed of as the Assistant Professor concerned is no longer in the service of the Institute.

(b) The proposal related to research in "High Temperature Vapour Pressures of Refractory Materials".

(c) The proposal had been screened by a Central Committee and accepted in principle before being submitted to U.S. Government. The question of giving final clearance of the Government of India does not arise in this case.

Supply of Gas to Utran Power House, Gujarat

121. Shri D. J. Naik: Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether contract for laying gas pipe-line for supply of gas to the Utran Power House (Gujarat) has been finalised; and

(b) if so, when the work will start, and when it will be completed?

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The work on this line started on 2nd December, 1963 and is expected to be completed in March, 1964.

Korba Fertilizer Factory

122. **Shri S. C. Samanta:**
Shri Subodh Hansda:
Shri N. R. Laskar:
Shri Maheswar Naik:

Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether the plan and estimate of the Korba Fertilizer factory in public sector have been prepared;

(b) whether the plant and machineries will be fabricated in India; and

(c) if not, from where they will be purchased and the foreign exchange requirement for the project?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Alagesan): (a) These have been prepared and are under the scrutiny of the Fertilizer Corporation.

(b) Fabrication of plant and machinery will be done within the

country to the maximum extent feasible consistent with the facilities available and the need to complete the project within a reasonable time schedule.

(c) Only a part of the machinery which cannot be fabricated within the country will be imported. The country from which it will be imported has not yet been decided. The total foreign exchange cost of the project has been estimated at approximately Rs. 13.00 crores.

Fertilizer Factory in Goa

123. Shri Nath Pai: Will the Minister of **Petroleum and Chemicals** be pleased to state:

(a) whether any licence has been given for setting up a fertilizer factory in Goa; and

(b) if so, when the factory is likely to go in for production?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Alagesan): (a) and (b). The matter is still under consideration.

Drug Processing Factories in J. & K.

124. Shri Sham Lal Saraf: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 653 on the 18th December, 1963 and state:

(a) whether the decision to take over the two Drug Processing Factories and some Drug Farms from the Jammu and Kashmir State has been arrived at; and

(b) if so, the nature of the decision taken?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) and (b). The Farms and Processing factories have since been taken over by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and will function under its Central Indian Medicinal Plants Organisation.

Tandi Therot Road

125. Shri Hem Raj: Will the **Minister of Home Affairs** be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1888 on the 18th December, 1963 and state:

(a) whether any decision has been taken on the proposal of the Punjab Government for the construction of the Tandi Therot Road; and

(b) If so, the nature thereof?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hajarnavis): (a) and (b). The scheme for the improvement of the Tandi Therot Road in Lahaul District in Punjab involving a total outlay of Rs. 11.354 lakhs has been approved in January, 1964.

Political Sufferers in Punjab

126. Shri Daljit Singh: Will the Minister of **Home Affairs** be pleased to state the total amount distributed to the Political Sufferers of Punjab from 1st April, 1963 to the end of December, 1963?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shrimati Chandrasekhar): Rs. 3,650.

Study of Astrology

127. Shri Tan Singh: Will the Minister of **Education** be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have a proposal for appointing a research body for scientific study of astrology; and

(b) if so, the details thereof?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

12 hrs.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

ANNUAL REPORT OF INDIAN OIL COMPANY, AUDITED ACCOUNTS AND GOVERNMENT REVIEW

The Minister of Petroleum and Chemicals (Shri Humayun Kabir): I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers:—

(i) Annual Report of the Indian Oil Company Limited, Bombay for the year 1962-63, along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956;

(ii) Review by the Government on the working of the above Company.

[*Placed in Library. See* No. LT-2258/64].

SALAR JUNG MUSEUM (THIRD AMENDMENT) RULES

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shri Bhakt Darshan): On behalf of Shri M. C. Chagla, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Salar Jung Museum (Third Amendment) Rules, 1963, published in Notification No. GSR 1962, dated the 28th December, 1963, under sub-section (3) of section 27 of the Salar Jung Museum Act, 1961. [*Placed in Library, See No.* LT-2259/64].

UPSC (EXEMPTION FROM CONSULTATION) SECOND AMENDMENT REGULATIONS

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shrimati Chandrasekhar): On behalf of Shri Hajarnavis, I beg to re-lay on the Table a copy of the Union Public Service Commission (Exemption from Consultation) Second Amendment Regulations, 1963, published in Notification No. G.S.R. 1888, dated the 14th December 1963 under Clause (5) of Article 320 of the Constitution. [*Placed in Library. See* No. LT-2223/63].

12.02 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

THIRTY-SECOND REPORT

Shri Krishnamoorthy Rao (Shimoga): I beg to present the Thirty-second Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE

FORTY-SECOND REPORT

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): I beg to present the Forty-second Report of the Estimates Committee on the Ministry of Finance (Department of Economic Affairs)—Revision of the Form and Contents of the Demands for Grants (Exclusion of the Profit and Loss Accounts and Balance Sheets of Public Undertakings from the Demands for Grants).

12.03 hrs.

STATEMENT BY MEMBER

Mr. Speaker: Maharani Gayatri Devi.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I rise to a point of order on the statement to be immediately made by Maharani Gayatri Devi.

I presume she is making a statement under rule 357, that is, personal explanation. The rule says:

> "A member may, with the permission of the Speaker, make a personal explanation although there is no question before the House, but in this case no debatable matter may be brought forward, and no debate shall arise".

If my contention is correct, she is offering a personal explanation, or

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

what? In regard to what Shri Indrajit Gupta said on the 19th November 1963 while speaking on an adjournment motion. He said this:

> "Well, as far as my knowledge goes, I also do not believe that he would bother to come here to sell £200 worth of cartridges. . . .It is mentioned in sections of the press—and I have not seen any contradiction—that the noble royal house of Jaipur was often entertaining Mr. Walcott for *shikar* expeditions.... ".

Rule 357 gives a chance to an hon. Member, if something has been said against him or her by another hon. Member which requires a personal explanation, to do so. My hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, said something against a particular house. He quoted press statements and expressed surprise that it had not been contradicted. Naturally, he was constrained to believe that whatever was given in the newspapers was correct.

My point is that a statement can be made only on a point of personal explanation. If a statement is to be allowed by you on this, then tomorrow there may be something said about the Birla House and some Member of this House may get up and say, 'i represent Birla and I would like to make a personal explanation on behalf of Birla'. Nothing has been said against our respected Maharani personally. What has been said is against a particular house. She is unfortunately a member of that house.

An Hon. Member: Unfortunately?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Fortunately or unfortunately. My contention is that this should not be allowed. It will be a bad precedent. Every house may have some representative in our House, and it would be impossible to carry on.

Mr. Speaker: Maharani Gayatri Devi is not a Member who represents any house, which any other Member might do. But when that house is referred to, certainly Maharani Gayatri Devi feels that her name or her husband's name has been taken. I had considered that, and therefore I allowed it.

Shrimati Gayatri Devi (Jaipur): While speaking on a motion of adjournment on the Walcott affair, Shri Indrajit Gupta said that he had read in the press that the Jaipur family had entertained Mr. Walcott at shikar parties, and they had used Mr. Walcott to smuggle ammunition into India. This is a very damaging and libellous statement, and I should make it absolutely clear that not one member of the Jaipur family has ever met Mr. Walcott. Therefore, the question of our smuggling arms through him into India does not arise. Nor have we ever indulged in the smuggling of ammunition into India.

I would like to thank you for allowing me to make this statement.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The statement should have been contradicted.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): I seek your protection. There was no personal reference made in the statement. I made a reference to the press.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Between the two, she is more reliable!

Shri Indrajit Gupta: It was not an allegation made by me.

Mr. Speaker: That she has said.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I just referred to what appeared in a certain section of the press.

Shri Nambiar (Tiruchirapalli): It was for her to contradict.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I only want to say that, without standing on any technicality, I am personally quite happy that at least after three months she has contradicted it.

Mr. Speaker: She gave me notice very soon after that and she wanted to make a statement. At one time I did not find Shri Gupta here. Then the Maharani had to go away herself. She wrote to me that she had to go back. Therefore, I have allowed her now. Of course, delay is there.

Shri Nambiar: In future also, will this be allowed?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Nambiar: This is reference made in the press.

Mr. Speaker: She has also said that. She has exactly quoted that, nothing further.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): You have not taken note of Shri Tyagi's contention!

12·06 hrs.

MOTION *RE*: COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN EAST PAKISTAN AND WEST BENGAL

Mr. Speaker: Further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Nanda on the 11th February, 1964, namely:—

> "That the situation arising out of the communal disturbances in East Pakistan resulting in heavy loss of life and property of the members of minority community and their influx to India and consequential disturbances in West Bengal, be taken into consideration."

Would he like to open this debate?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): I do not regard it necessary to make a speech at this stage. I made a statement and I also laid on the Table of the House a longer statement.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): On a point of order. Yesterday, when I put that question, the hon. Minister gave me an assurance, and that has been conveyed to us, that he would collect the information before the debate begins.

Shri Nanda: The question of the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan being allowed to move about freely, and our Deputy High Commissioner not having the same latitude there in East Pakistan, was raised. I have ascertained the facts. The position is similar in both countries. In Calcutta, the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan certainly has permission to go about. Similarly, our Deputy High Commissioner could move about in Datca. That was reciprocal.

Shri Hem Barua: No, Sir. My question is not replied to. I put this question, the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact stipulates that whenever there are communal disturbances in one country, the diplomatic representatives of the other country have a right to visit the riot-affected areas, and I just wanted to know whether our diplomatic personnel in Pakistan visited the riot-affected areas in East Pakistan, or their representatives were allowed to visit the riot-affected areas in West Bengal.

He has not given any specific reply.

Shri Nanda: I shall state that position also. We made a request that our representatives be allowed to move about in the riot-affected area. We were not permitted to do so.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): It is a dead-letter then?

Shri Hem Barua: The other part of my question is whether we allowed Pakistani diplomatic personnel to move about the riot-affected areas in West Bengal.

Shri Nanda: No, Sir; we also did not allow that.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That is not correct.

Mr. Speaker: There are substitute motions also. Are they moved?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Sir, I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the communal disturbances in East Pakistan resulting in heavy loss of life and property of the members of minority community and their influx to India and consequential disturbances in West Bengal, regrets the inadequacy of the measures adopted by the Government of India to deal with the unprecedented situation created by the communal holocaust in East Pakistan." (1)

श्री रामसेवक यादव (बाराबंकी): अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा एक निवेदन है कि मैंने जो प्रस्ताव दिया था वह मूल हिन्दी में था, उसकी दूसरी प्रति हमें मिलती नहीं है। मेरे पास जो है वह अंग्रेजी में है। उसका सही तर्जुमा हुआ है या नहीं यह मुझे नहीं मालूम। मेरी अंग्रेजी इतनी अच्छी भी नहीं है .....

अध्यक्ष महोदय: जब आप अपनी तकरीर करेंगे तब आप हिन्दी में पढ़ देंगे। शुरू करते वक्त आपने जो नोटिस दिया था उसको पढ़ें।

श्री राम सेवक यादव: मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूं:

कि मूल प्रस्ताव के स्थान पर निम्नलिखित रखा जाय :—

"हिन्दी-पाक मामले में और दोनों देशों के अल्पसंख्यकों के बारे में नेतृत्व विहीन होकर भारत सरकार पूर्व बंगाल के अल्पसंख्यकों की सुरक्षा के लिए जरूरी प्रयत्न नहीं कर पाई, जिससे न सिर्फ मनुष्य धर्म का नाश हुआ है बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के अल्पसंख्यकों को भी जब तब खतरा हुआ है, और पाकिस्तान के मोर्चे पर तनाव जारी रखते हुए देश पर दो-सामना वाले युद्ध का खतरा डाल दिया है।" (२)

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central): Sir, I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the communal disturbances in East Pakistan resulting in heavy loss of life and property of the members of minority community and their influx to India and consequential disturbances in West Bengal, is of opinion that the Government of India has failed to—

(a) take adequately strong measures to compel the Pakistan Government to respect the rights of the minority community in East Pakistan;

(b) liberalise adequately the migration facilities to enable all those to come over from East Pakistan who want to;

(c) rehabilitate about 1½ million refugees who had earlier come over from East Pakistan, thereby making them a prey to frustration and discontent;

(d) curb reactionary communal forces in India who, by advocating a policy of retalia-

tion against the Muslim minority in India as a reply to Pakistani oppression of Hindus, strike at the root of India's secular and democratic principles; and

(e) ensure timely and effective protection by the West Bengal State administration of lives and property of the Muslim minority in Calcutta and other places, thus necessitating deployment of the army there." (3)

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the communal disturbances in East Pakistan resulting in heavy loss of life and property of the members of minority community and their influx to India and consequential disturbances in West Bengal, is of opinion that an abiding solution has to be found to the problem of the East Bengal minority so that communal harmony be effectively maintained in India and all citizens enjoy the equal rights guaranteed to them in our secular State. With this end in view, the following steps be taken:—

(a) The restrictions on the migration of the East Bengal Hindu minority be lifted.

(b) Initiative in rehabilitation should be encouraged so far as possible and new procedures and policies be adopted to cope with the problem of rehabilitation.

(c) The problem of the East Bengal minority be taken to the U.N. and world attention focussed on it to find a solution." (4)

Mr. Speaker: I am told that Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri and Shri Brij Raj Singh have also tabled amendments and they have not yet been typed. They will have to be circulated. Are they also moved?

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri (Berhampur): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the communal disturbances in East Pakistan resulting in heavy loss of life and property of the members of minority community and their influx to India and consequential disturbances in West Bengal, is of opinion that the Prime Ministers' Agreement of 1950 between India and Pakistan (the Nehru—Liaquat Ali Agreement) has failed to secure the protection of the democratic and human rights of minorities in East Pakistan and that recent developments in East Pakistan since the late communal disturbances have proved that the life, property and honour of the minorities have become absolutely insecure there and therefore the Government should take up the question of the planned migration of those members of the minority community who want to come away and take refuge in India with the Government of Pakistan through the good offices of the U.N.O. and its Security Council."(5)

Shri Brij Raj Singh (Bareilly): Sir, I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the situation arising out of the communal disturbances in East Pakistan resulting in heavy loss of life and property of the members of minority community and

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their influx to India and consequential disturbances in West Bengal, is of opinion that the Government of India has utterly failed to—

(a) take effective steps to fulfil the solemn assurances given to the minority in East Pakistan at the time of Pakistan that the life, property and honour of Hindus left there will be protected and they will be ensured equal treatment;

(b) ensure safe transit to the intending Hindu emigrant to India;

(c) remove all restriction on the entry of Hindus from East Pakistan to West Bengal;

(d) educate and mobilise the world opinion against the persistent genocide of Hindu minority in East Pakistan, whose number has been reduced from 16 million to 9 million;

(e) take reciprocal action against the closure of India's Deputy High Commissioner's Office at Rajshahi;

(f) abrogate agreement to transfer Beruwari to Pakistan which amounts to destruction and sure death of ten thousand Hindus of that area;

(g) curb the activities of pro-Pakistan elements in Calcutta and other neighbouring areas in West Bengal who instigated communal riots there; and

(h) get rid of the Pakistani Nationals serving in Dockyard and other key services of West Bengal." (6)

Mr. Speaker: The amendments are before the House.

Now, about the time-limit—for ordinary speeches fifteen minutes and for leaders of groups or the first spokesman 25 minutes. Will that be enough?

Some Hon. Members: 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker: I have no objection but there will be fewer Members who could speak . . . (*Interruptions.*)

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): Why cannot we sit longer? We have given ourselves a holiday for Shivaratri. People criticise that the M.Ps. do not work sufficiently. We have no time because the House does not agree to sit longer and I think we are rightly reprimanded by the Press and the public. We should be willing to sit longer.

Mr. Speaker: I would be glad to join them on some other day—not today. Mr. Mukerjee.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Mr. Speaker, we are discussing the Home Minister's motion in the setting of very grim events. Things have happened in our country which we had fondly hoped would never again take place in India. We have passed, particularly in places like Calcutta night-marish days when it was something like darkness at noon and all that we have cherished in our national struggle, things like communal harmony and the secular democratic state did appear for a short while to be in danger. We have all failed—all parties, the Congress and the other parties—to a certain extent and I think it is only fair that we admit that at a critical period of time we did not succeed in upholding that banner which has enthused us and exhilarated us in the days of the fight for freedom.

In my amendment and the amendment which is being sponsored by so many of my colleagues here, we have tried to pinpoint certain of the defaults of the Government, not with a capti-

ous spirit, not in order to get some advantage out of the situation but only in order to see that the right job is done at the right time, that whatever damage has taken place is properly repaired and that steps are adopted which would make it impossible for a recurrence of the kind of thing which has tarnished our present system. It is in that spirit that we have pointed out the failures of Government and in our amendment we have itemised them so that Government might take a very objective consideration of the matter.

Before I go on, I would like to pay a tribute to our Home Minister, Shri Nanda, for whatever the weaknesses of the apparatus which he had to work, he acted with real courage and determination at a time of crisis. I should not perhaps waste too many words in complimenting him. I know for a fact that the minority community in West Bengal look up to Shri Nanda as they look up to the Prime Minister, and when they are giving him their plaudits for very rightful reasons, I am not going to withhold my compliment. I have seen in his own party newspapers published by people who are high-up in the Congress circles attacks on what Shri Nanda was trying to do. I have seen in papers to which I shall make a more detailed reference a little later, very serious aspersions on the intentions of the Central Government—it was the Central Government and the Home Minister, who. between them, did try and with a certain amount of success, to repair a very badly damaged situation. That shows how things are rotten in the house over Shri Nanda presides. I do hope he would take note also of that thing.

In the motion which the Home Minister has made, there is reference to something like a see-saw, and a statement that provocations came from Pakistan and repercussions took place in our country and that this kind of see-saw is almost part of the natural set-up in our two countries. I am afraid I differ from that kind of analysis. Since 1950, quite a number of times, in East Pakistan very serious communal disturbances have taken place, but Calcutta, the city which I am proud to represent, in spite of the humiliations which we have recently suffered, was completely free of any kind of taint. In spite of the trouble in Pakistan, Calcutta kept herself immaculate as far as patriotic conduct was concerned, and that is why I wish the Home Minister to go deep into the matter. There is very much more to it than meets the eye. There was very serious timing in order to bring about the state of things in our country,—not merely the matter of repercussion, —and in so far as that goes, Government also has failed. Before I go further, I would also like to say how the international patrons of Pakistan have behaved in regard to this matter. I know and I have said in this House before that the so-called western countries, unreconciled to Indian freedom, have needed trouble in this region and they get Pakistan to do this dirty job for them. Only yesterday in the Security Council we have seen how the United Kingdom has taken up the cudgels on behalf of Pakistan. Although we have got a cast iron case which was presented very ably by our spokesman, the Education Minister, even our cast iron case regarding Kashmir is disregarded. I see in the papers that our representatives in the Security Council felt a sense of shock when Sir Patrick Dean, who represented the United Kingdom spoke. I was surprised. Did we not know the mind of the British and the Americans as far as this kind of thing goes? Did we not know who are our friends and who are not?

Even when Pakistan was flirting in a dirty manner with China against us, the west seemed to enjoy and encourage that process, which surely Mr. Nanda must very well be in the know about. We have seen in the United Kingdom press reports in reputable papers like London *Times* exaggerated accounts of how India is pushing out the Muslims from Assam, only because in this country members have object-

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ed to the very generous way in which the Indian Government treats illegal immigrants who come from Pakistan We have seen this kind of thing happening over and over again. The riot news is being presented in the British and American Press in a manner which shows that India is to be tarnished with a blacker brush. These colonial powers, even when their majesty and might is already gone, are capable of everything. From Viet-Nam to Laos, to the East African countries and Cyprus, they are carrying on their conspiracy. Wherever they could somehow or other divide and perpetuate their domination, they would like to do so. They are most dastardly and unscrupulous people who employ these methods. They get Pakistan to do this dirty job, because in Pakistan their agents are refusing to satisfy the demands of the Pakistani people for a democratic set-up, which is voiced particularly in East Bengal. Pakistan is doing this job in order to blacken the fair name of India. Pakistan was doing this when the Hazratbal incident took place. Pakistan tries not only to blacken us before the western countries, where we do not need any more blackening—our freedom is something to which Britain will never be reconciled—but they want to blacken our face also as far as the Afro-Asian countries are concerned. What are we doing? What was our Government doing?

After the Hazratbal incident, when the Khulna and Jessore incidents took place in East Pakistan, what was our Government doing? Now they are talking of provocations, repercussions and that sort of thing. Internationally we failed to present our case. We have said it ever so often in this House in regard to the failure of the Indian propaganda even in countries which are supposed to be friendly to us like the United Kingdom. Their representatives come and hobnob with even a very sick Prime Minister and waste his time. Even in those friendly countries, India's position in regard to Pakistan is never appreciated. Our propaganda internationally always fails.

Internally what did we do? We took no steps whatever. The Bhubaneswar Congress was being held. I do not suggest that the Congress procession should have been dissolved or something like that. But as early as 6th January there was trouble. Even before that, President Ayub in a statement made on the 4th January, had given definite indication that the Hazratbal incident was the doing of no Muslim; it was the doing of a Hindu and therefore, things are going to be done against the Hindus in Pakistan. But this was not highlighted by our own people. Our representatives internationally and nationally did nothing at all about it. For days and days, reports appeared in the papers that in East Pakistan things were very bad and in our country nothing was being said about that. No diplomatic or any other kind of step was taken. Therefore, some people went berserk. I do not justify that at all. No provocation on earth can justify the kind of thing which took place in this country to a certain extent. But even so, what was the Government doing? The Government failed altogether. On 9th January, in Calcutta the situation got bad. On the 10th, it was worse. On the 11th and the whole day of 12th, the situation was bad. From the 9th to the 12th, till Shri Nanda arrived, Calcutta was a euphemism for hell. This happened because the apparatus failed. The Chief Minister, possibly, as a person, tried to do what he could. But, of course, the apparatus had failed, and this apparatus failed because we did not know what to do about it.

We have seen so many things which took place—I am not going into any detail over it; it is not necessary nor is it desirable. But, unless there was connivance at a very high level certain things could not have taken place. The Home Minister himself has seen with his own eyes what I have also seen. There was a certain kind of uniformity in the pattern of demolition and destruction which took place in Calcutta. It could not have taken place without connivance at the highest quarters.

There was the supply of petrol, supply of trucks, supply of fire balls, and their appearance at pre-mediated points of time and in certain places. How could they take place? Things took place right under the nose of police stations. I know of a college hostel which was vacated and the key was given to a police official of that area. But that hostel was looted altogether and the theses of students who were preparing for a Degree have been destroyed. All that kind of thing took place. I am not going into any detail over it. How could these things take place unless there was connivance in certain quarters?

In regard to that I will have to refer to certain matters which do not redound to the credit of our country. That is why I feel that after all certain things took place in a certain sequence of things which are extremely dubious and this is a very good case, if we wish to press it, for a judicial enquiry to be directed from the Centre in regard to how the collapse of administration took place for a few days in Calcutta and different parts of West Bengal.

In any case, our job is to repair the damage, wipe the tears of people who have suffered whether they are Hindus or Muslims, and see, as far as possible, this kind of thing does not occur again. In order to see that this kind of thing does not occur again and in order at least to repair the damage for the present, we have to expand the migration facilities. I know the Home Minister has announced certain modifications. But we have a feeling that no mere tinkering with the rules would do. Easing of the restrictions is all right, but it does not go far enough. Addition of a few more categories of people who would be entitled to migration certificates is by no means sufficient. I would remind the Government, the Home Minister in particular, that in 1947, at the time of partition, we gave a pledge to our brethren in Pakistan. We wanted them to stay in Pakistan. Even now, unlike some people who are asking for exchange of population, which is a dastardly proposition,—we do not do so—we want our people to stay in Pakistan if that is possible. Whoever wants to leave his own home? The riverine country in East Bengal is so beautiful that one gets so deeply devoted to ones homeland. One does not leave it just for the fun of it. But if they cannot stay there because of the cruelties of the present rulers of Pakistan, they must know that they have a home across the border. Therefore, this kind of amplification of the facilities regarding migration so that they are adequate to the needs of the situation has to be done. That has to be done not by a few bureaucratic changes here and there; changes in items which would be operated by the bureaucracy there. It is not by that means that we are going to solve the question of migration.

And, those who are coming and those who have come here before are called refugees. They are not refugees. They have to have a home to be provided. Why do we still consider them to be refugees. This also is a home. This is not a substitute for home. This is a country which should be home for them. It is about time that the Government realises it. We are paying for the original sin of partition, the sin which we had all committed in 1947. But let us try to modify the effects of that sin, as much as that is possible. We have given this assurance to these people that those who have come here would not be looked upon as refugees who are dependent upon the uncertain charities of Shri Khanna, or whoever holds that portfolio and this is the reason why I would like to refer to the many pin-pricks which have taken place earlier, pin-pricks in regard to quarters, pin-pricks in regard to the year and the particular point of time when people came here from East Pakistan in order to be entitled to anything like relief facilities in this country.

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This is a terrific human problem which demands resources which we may not appear to have, but these refugees can be made to fit into a pattern of a really developing economy if we wish to advance in a socialist direction. They need not be thought of purely as so many additions to our already over-crowded agricultural population they can be fitted into different aspects of industrial and other kinds of work and, therefore, if we really and truly approach this problem properly, we can settle this question.

If necessary, we can tell all the world about it, and specially our Afro-Asian friends. We can tell them how India is trying to function as a secular democratic country while Pakistan calls itself Islamic and behaves in a manner which makes it impossible for non-Islamic people to live in that area where they had decided to live of their own. We can put it before the world and, if necessary we can get sanction from world opinion. We can put it before our Afro-Asian friends in particular. We can put it also before other international tribunals. There is no shame about it. This means we can expose Pakistan's activities and also tell the world about the kind of problem which we are facing, only because we are trying to live a decent democratic life.

It is necessary to ensure, in the second place, effective relief and guarantee of protection, as far as the Muslim minorities in India are concerned. I hate to call them a minority. They are not a mere minority; they are 50 million people with whom we share our total Indian heritage. They have suffered cruelly in certain parts, and we have suffered too. Personally, I am sure many people share my emotion of the shame that one felt that not being a Muslim one could perhaps go about freely without anxiety or fear while being a Muslim subject one automatically to a kind of gnawing fear and anxiety. Whatever the provocations from Pakistan, we have to do our duty by our Muslim fellow citizens as well as the Hindu fellow citizens who have suffered and the Hindus who are coming from East Pakistan to this country. The statement made by the Home Minister in this connection is very heartening but I do hope that he would clarify the position a little more and assure the Muslim sufferers in our own country on account of the disturbances which have taken place that every care would be taken to see that they are properly rehabilitated, because I know that there is a section of people in our country who are continuing to whip up opinion against the Muslims in India. But I say that the Muslims..... (*Interruptions*). If I am wrong, I would be very happy if they can all live together, if the Muslims, Hindus and all live together an integrated democratic socialist life in this country that would be the happiest thing of all. But I have a suspicion and I am going to say certain things because it is my duty to point out those things. There are certain elements in our country which want to make the Muslims of India something like the same kind of hostages which the Hindus in East Pakistan is like. That sort of thing must not take place. To the Muslims in India we must give the utterest guarantee of complete protection. We have to be steadfast to the ideal of secular democracy. We have to curb these reactionary communal forces, because these reactionary communal forces, supported by many people in the Congress Party, have raised their ugly head..... (*Interruptions*) I can substantiate it.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

An Hon. Member: What were you doing in Calcutta those days?

Shri Nambiar: We will tell you.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Can the debate take place in this fashion?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am not provoking any sections. I am trying to state certain things which, may be to our shame, we have to admit. In our country we have not yet succeeded in having a set up where mischievous communal reactionary elements can no longer function successfully. They still function successfully. Only yesterday I discovered that a rather mysterious but apparently powerful personality, known as Guru Golwalkar, has been making speeches in Nagpur, RSS literature is being distributed and a hand-bill written in Marathi is reported in this paper, the *Link* of 9th February 1964, to run like this:

> "The handbill, written in Marathi, is entitled: "If you are a man." It begins by describing in a provocative manner the communal riots in East Pakistan, then goes on to remind the readers how.....the majority community suffered grave indignities."

Then it ends up by saying:—

> "We can by our Tandav Nritya (dance of destruction) force the Government to change its policy."

We do not want any Tandav Nritya in this country conducted by these communal elements. I remember—Shri Nanda will testify to it; Shrimati Chakravartty was there and Shri Gupta was there—when Shri Nanda met representatives of Calcutta citizens the morning after he arrived there, the principal spokesman of the Jana Sangh got up and protested against what Shri Nanda had said very rightly. At the height of the riots he had said that every Muslim life is sacred to India. God blass him for having said it. He said it—very rightly he said it—and this was objected to by the spokesman of the Jana Sangh. But to the credit of the Calcutta public it should be said that he was shouted down before Shri Nanda. That Jana Sangh spokesman could not continue. But these people did have the run of the land for four or five days. From the 6th to the 15th January these people were going on. They had even declared a *hartal* to be held on the 15th January and it was Shri Nanda's presence which prevented the formulation of their programme in regard to that *hartal*. They were holding meetings and saying all kinds of things. These people have been functioning there. We could not have any truck with these elements.

The only difficulty is that the Congress Government itself must have been infiltrated, not only at the political level but also at the administrative level, by people who do have their sympathies with these communal reactionary elements.

Some Hon. Members: No.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I shall be happy if the Congress Government can give me a clean bill of health. If Shri Nanda can satisfy everybody that the Congress Government has been absolutely above board, everybody should be happy; but he knows and I know and everybody in West Bengal knows that the Government failed in a very serious manner and it failed because of certain difficulties almost inherent in the situation, which difficulties we have to encounter and which we have to remove. That is the job which we have to do..... (*Interruption*).

Till Shri Nanda arrived on the 12th January the situation was bad. The improvement began only when he arrived there. That is why it is important that we try to find out what was what, why it happened in that way, why was it that things could not be controlled much earlier because it has maligned us before the whole world, because it has threatened the very foundations of our secular, democratic life, because it is going to be the darkest possible turning point in our life if we have to truckle

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down this kind of communal challenge to our socialist and democratic aspirations.

We found in Calcutta and other places a pattern of destruction when was so ugly and so uniform. Whether you go to Bongaon or to Batanagar or to Barasat the pattern of destruction was the same. Whether you went to the area where the bookbinders live or to the area where rubber factories were situated in East Calcutta, you could see how deliberate and pre-planned operations had taken place. Books usually written by Hindu writers and published by Hindu publishers had been burnt down and destroyed costing many hundreds or thousands of rupees at a time when books were wanted because in the months of January-February the school session begins—all because of certain people having gone to that area and done it.

Then again there are so many interests involved. The Congress papers had also mentioned it and the Ordinance of the West Bengal Government also substantiated it. The *basti* owners perhaps wanted to have a finger in the pie and wanted to bring about destruction of these *bastis* where the Muslims were living so that they could fish in troubled waters, could capitalise on that ruin and could make more money by building some other kind of structure which would bring a greater amount of rent. There was a combination of the most dastardly elements of our people, the self-seeking *basti*-owner, the hoodlums and toughs who are found in every big city, the political *goondas* who also flourish in certain environment and the communally-minded people who have infiltrated into the political and administrative sections of our life in the country, in the Congress Party as well as—I am ashamed to say —elsewhere. This is what happened and this kind of a temper for the time being upset everybody. A policy of retaliation was even suggested by serious people.

I said some time ago something about the role of the press in East Bengal. Some of the newspapers, like, *Samvad, Ittefaq* and the *Pakistan Observer* behaved on the whole very decently; but I am very sorry to have to say that in Calcutta even though the press as a whole should not be condemned out of hand, there were three most important Bengali dailies: *Jugantar* which is owned by a Congress family and supports a West Bengal Minister; *Ananda Bazar* which has Congress tradition of many years standing and *Basumati* which is owned partly, according to reports, by a Union Minister here in this House—all these papers competed with each other in saying and doing things which were utterly wrong and utterly mischievous.

Shri N. R. Ghosh (Jalpaiguri): No.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: *Jugantar*, for instance, wrote editorials. I have got a sheaf of all these things. I can send them on to him, Shri Nanda. I have no time to refer to those things. I can send them on to him.... (*Interruption*) *Jugantar* wrote over and over again....

Shri Atulya Ghosh (Asansol): He was eulogising the Home Minister. (*Interruption*) If it is a fact that these newspapers fomented the communal riots, why did the Home Minister not take action against the newspapers? (*Interruption*).

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): Why don't you ask him?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: We are very humble people. We have not got power like my friend Atulya Babu has got. The only way in which we can bring our grievance before the country is to speak in Parliament. That is what we are trying to do. In Bengal also we have tried to draw the attention of the West Bengal Chief Minister. Mr. Gupta and I one day went in particular with a sheaf of papers to him and he appeared to

agree with our formulations in regard to the mischievous and objectionable nature of the comments made in those papers. A paper like *Jugantar* says that Government is supine; Government does not do anything with regard to Pakistan. The people certainly will have to take things into their own hands. What is the idea; what is the game; what is the innuendo as we hear so often during the Question Hour? *Ananda Bazar Patrika* says over and over again, "The Muslim minority here has suffered." Oh! They want *Akasher Chand*. They want the Government to pluck the moon from the sky and give it to them. *Ananda Bazar* also asked for the exchange of population with India and Pakistan. For a Congress paper to ask for the exchange of population is something against which this House and the country must take the stand or we go down the drain for ever and ever. We are not going to accept this kind of thing. *Basumati* which is purely Congress owned, according to reports —God knows what the truth is: Jesting Pilate asked what the truth was and never would stay for an answer, whereas I have got the report saying that one Union Minister is said to own partly the *Basumati*— wrote about the Government being slovenly, the Government being cowardly and, therefore, the people had got to do something. And they go on writing like this.

"The statement of Shri Nanda in Calcutta creates tremendous discontent in West Bengal"—this is after Mr. Nanda and his other two colleagues visited Calcutta—that "if the Government's mentality remains unchanged, then there should be a very powerful movement". This is what the *Basumati* writes—Special Staff Reporter writes this kind of a thing under banner headlines. Why should these kinds of things go on taking place? They have taken place. We have to stop it. If the light that is in Thee in darkness, how deep is that darkness? If we ourselves have gone down, if character is no longer there, how are we going to correct everything, to rectify the position? They have poured poison on the very idea of the Central Government's intervention in the Bengal situation. It was the most important thing that the Central Government did intervene. Without Central Government's intervention, we could not save ourselves nor could we remind ourselves of the integrated unity of our own country.

Then again, Mr. Nanda, when he went to Calcutta, with the best of intentions set up a number of peace committees and he expressed a hope, very rightly, that there should be a sustained campaign so that reconciliation takes place. In spite of Mr. Nanda's sincerity, the results have not been so good because of bureaucratic ways and all these peace committees are being subverted by some other kind of bureaucratic set up being put up with, more or less, police bases to which only those who are in the good books of police can come in the picture, which means nearly nothing substantial or serious would ever be done in regard to the problems of reconciliation. But I know that we do not depend on the bureaucratic apparatus for solution of our problems and it is a grand thing that on either side of the border people have given their lives to save members of each other's community. In Serampore, Mishri Mandal gave his life; in Dacca, Amir Hussain Chaudhuri died in order to save the members of the other community, in the suburbs of Calcutta, Shri Satish Das Gupta, Gandhiji's veteran disciple, was injured trying to save the Muslims of his locality and in Khulna also Habibul Rehman and so many others were injured. On both sides of the border, these examples testify to human dignity, to the spirit that is inside all of us and that is exactly where we pin our hopes.

Mr. Speaker: The Hon. Member's time is up. He has already taken 34 minutes.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am the only speaker from my group.

Shri Atulya Ghosh: He has several times referred to the Congress papers (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Atulya Ghosh: He has all along been abusing the Congress.... (*Interruptions*).

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): Why did he not open his mouth for so long?

An Hon. Member: Because it is being allowed just now.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: Outside.

Mr. Speaker: I am not concerned with what happens outside. I am concerned with what happens here. Every Member must be responsible for the statement he makes. He ought to verify and ascertain himself that what he is saying here must be true according to his convictions and to his belief. Secondly, if he makes a statement on his own responsibility and he takes the responsibility about its being true, then certainly it can only be rebutted by contrary statements from the other side. That is the only remedy. Otherwise, there is none... (*Interruptions*).

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Because he does not attend.

Mr. Speaker: He does not attend and the hon. Member must interrupt.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Do not know why Atulya Babu gets provoked. I am only trying to put certain things which I know for a fact. They are backed by all these papers. I can send them on to him. I have got these papers with me which I am ready to send to the Home Minister. I am only saying, we do not depend merely on the bureaucratic processes in the repair of the damage which has taken place. We depend upon the initiative of the people in East Bengal who are very much against the Ayub dictatorship and they can overthrow that when they get the real opportunity.

As I was saying, there is the instance of Ramesh Chandra Sheel—he is a poet, a wandering bard who writes poems *impromptu*—who is being given a reception in Chittagong towards the end of February. That is a kind of thing that warms our hearts. During the riot days in Calcutta itself, a music conference was being held where Nazakat Ali and Sadaqat Ali were giving songs and Vilayat Hussain Khan was giving sitar recital. Nobody could imagine that the riot was taking place. After all, the real basis is to be found in those grand things, the spirit, where we are all together. In Bengal—I hail from Bengal which is a part of the larger India—our culture is made up of composite elements of which we are so proud, Alaol and Bharat Chandra, Tagore and Nazrul Islam and so many others—I need not give their names. As far as the whole of India is concerned, I have been reading recently how in our history, kings, and ministers are never remembered but our saints are remembered, men like Guru Nanak and others. They do not belong to Hindus or Muslims; they belong to humanity. Kabir who founded the Bharat Panth has said:

अरे इन दुहं राह न पाई,
हिंदु की हिन्दुवाई देखि तुर्कन की तुर्काई ।

We cannot fight in between Hindus and Muslims.

I remember, when I was young, my mother would send us to Dargah in the heart of Calcutta. As children at that time, we would go, and worshipers in Maula Ali's Dargah in the heart of Calcutta would bless the children so that they would grow sound in health.

Mr. Speaker: Shall we continue to do that even now?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Actually, what happened was that this Dargah was sought to be damaged, and I had to approach the authorities in order to see that the Dargah was reopened.

Mr. Speaker: Now, the hon. Member should conclude.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am concluding. I have in my amendment given specific ways in which Government could have behaved in order to rectify the position. But I do wish to make a last appeal to Government, which is this, that our country has experienced a very bad time, and our country has been maligned before the whole world and we know we have a very good case, and Pakistan has nothing to compare, as far as our case is concerned, but we have not only to put up that case before the world, but we also have to put our own house in order. And that is why the task of national integration which was taken up once and then given up because the Chinese incursion made it unnecessary at that time, has got to be taken up, over again. The Prime Minister is not here because he is not well, and he is sick. I sometimes feel that our country is sick, and our Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru is sick, with the sickness of our India, but he will be better, and he will get well, and the whole country will get well if we sit down together, those who really want a secular democratic country and a socialist economy, and find out ways and means of achieving our objective. If we do that, then all that is sought to be done by Pakistan and their helpers abroad and their unwilling helpers in this country, all that they are trying to do, would just be moved out of the picture like mist goes when sunshine appears on the horizon.

That is why in that perspective I want Government to look at the situation, to examine its own position, to enquire into why such a situation took place where in West Bengal everything went down the drain, and then to take measures regarding migration certificates, regarding relief and rehabilitation provisions and regarding a better and sustained campaign for improving the relations between Hindus and Muslims of either country and also, in so far as that is possible, between India and Pakistan.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): If my hon. friend Shri H. N. Muhkerjee had left the communist politics for a moment, he would have certainly not drawn a parallel between the incidents that happened in Pakistan and those that happened in India, because there was really no parallel. What is happening today in Pakistan is really a cool calculated move and a settled policy of a Government, of a ruling clique which wants to exterminate minorities and which wants to challenge the very democratic and secular character of this country by posing problems which are now characterised as if they are minority problems. If Shri H. N. Mukerjee had taken the trouble to read the comments of the Soviet press,—of course, the Chinese press has said nothing about it—he would have been convinced that in India, whenever this question has arisen, not only the Indian people but the nation as a whole has reacted in a manner which is praiseworthy. That has been the reaction of the Soviet press. But he has completely forgotten that aspect of the question.

The matter is too serious. We are here meeting not as parties but as representatives of people, as Indian patriots who have given this assurance to our brethren, wherever they may live now, that we stand by them, and we have to honour that pledge, and we must assure them of security, safety and honour. That is the problem before us. I was thankful to

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you, Mr. Speaker, when you, Sir, adjourning all other proceedings of the House, gave precedence to this matter. It is not a matter to be decided by mere walk-outs. It is a question whose answer has to be given by this Parliament today to the world and to the nation. What are we going to do? How are we going to solve this problem? That is not merely a matter of giving a long statement and concluding, as Shri Nanda has done, by saying:

> "Meanwhile, pressure would be maintained on the Pakistan Government to see reason and to follow internationally recognised canons of behaviour in respect of the duty towards the minorities."

I say that this is a ridiculous statement. That is the least that can be said about it. Do you still believe that Pakistan is prepared to conform to any recognised international behaviour? Do you still believe that it remains a question of minorities simply? It is not so.

I take note of what Shri Nanda has done as the Home Minister when the incidents took a serious turn in Calcutta. But I must say that Shri Nanda has completely failed to realise the seriousness of the situation and go into the root of the problem as such. The tardy and timid manner in which this Government has approached the entire Indo-Pakistan relations and also the question of minorities and refugees leaves no doubt in my mind that we are pursuing a policy which is not straightforward, and which is not realistic. And we are out for more troubles in this country unless we find out a permanent solution. What is that solution? That is the main question. It is a national problem or a political problem, according to me; it does not remain a minority problem, or a problem of your making a little appeal to the Home Minister of Pakistan and President Ayub Khan, 'Just permit us to go and see what is happening.'; although that is provided for in the Nehru-Liaquat Pact itself, actually what has happened to that Pact? Does it exist now? It has died a natural death. Therefore, scrap it. Declare it in Parliament that the Pact does not exist at all. There is no question of that Pact being there now. And how can we approach a country or a Government which does not want to honour any canons, any rules or any obligations, or any treaties or any agreements whatsoever? Therefore, it is a political question.

If the House takes the trouble to analyse the situation as it has arisen, it will come to the inevitable conclusion that this is a deeper political conspiracy, and nothing more and nothing else. One should take note of how this has started.

In this House, we have several times raised the question of Pakistan's spy-ring functioning in this country. We have raised this question repeatedly, that there has been infiltration of Muslims into India in the borders of Assam, Aripura and Cooch-Bihar. But what has Government done? We have also to look at the connection between Pakistan and China. China by concluding a pact with Pakistan has tried to show to the international world that China wants a settlement with India, and she has stayed behind or withdrawn from some areas and yet occupied some areas, and China is instigating Pakistan actually, because they are both in league.

This has started in order to create troubles in the Indian territory so that our national defence is upset and we are put in a very weak position. It is a political struggle. Therefore, I want this Government to realise this aspect of the question.

I have facts before me to prove that all that has happened is largely due to the activities of Pakistan agents and also due to the negligence and indifference. . .

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): And apathy.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: . . and apathy or timidity of the Government who have failed to handle the situa-

tion properly. So, let us consider this question from that point of view.

When I say this, I also want to pay a tribute to my own countrymen. My hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee should have mentioned it; it has been proved beyond doubt that even in Kashmir which is said to be the provocating factor for Pakistan to organise this communal holocaust there all the minorities, and Hindus and Muslims acted like one man, and there was no question of any communal trouble there. Every little minority in Kashmir had full security and safety there.

13.00 hrs.

I have a feeling—I visited Calcutta four times during these riots; I went to the affected and discussed with people—I have a feeling of praise for the citizens of Calcutta. I praise the citizens of Calcutta and of the whole of India for the way they have reacted to this problem.

I do not want to go into the dates. But I want a reply from the Home Minister as to what they were doing. First incidents happened in Khulna and Jessore. Very disturbing incidents happened there. News percolated to the other side of the border. It was very natural. People came to Sealdah. They wanted to have news about their families etc. But you teargassed the people. Still, till the 6th January there was no incident whatsover. Yet, I want to know what did they do? There was, I must say, a complete paralysis of the West Bengal Government. When the people's emotions were worked up, what did the Government do? Were any precautionary measures taken in the area to see that these things did not happen, that there would be no disturbance? On the other hand, they sent their police to Bhubaneswar to protect the Congress dignitaries!

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): No, no.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: The Chief Minister of West Bengal stayed in Bhubaneswar at the time when the people's emotions were worked up.

An hon. Member: He rushed back.

Shri Tyagi: These eruptions came afterwards.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Shri Tyagi can have his say later. But he cannot deny these facts.

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): May I appeal to the hon. Member. . .

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: When those disturbances were going on and there was a likelihood that Pakistan agents were ligely to take advantage of the situation.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: We are all one with the hon. Member in the matter of feeling for the people concerned. This is a non-party question. Let him approach the issue in that spirit and not attack the Congress Party and the Government. I would appeal to him to treat it as a non-party issue.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: That is the trouble with my hon. friend and other members of the Congress Party. They always feel as if the Government and the party are the same. What was the Government doing? I am asking the Government. Is the hon. Member responsible for the West Bengal Government here?

When incidents after incidents happened, what did they do? The Chief Minister of West Bengal—here I accuse him—made a statement in Bhubaneswar which gave the people of Bengal a feeling—because they were not getting the factual information of what was happening in Pakistan—that probably the atrocities in Pakistan were very serious. Then suddenly he rushed back. Because the Government itself had not been prepared

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for this thing before, they were in a very difficult position. According to Nanda, it was not a communal trouble—what happened in Calcutta and near about areas. It is Nanda's own admission, although he does not fully realise it. He says:

> "In the city of Calcutta, the trouble was not wholly communal; there the greater part of the disturbances was caused by hooligans. . .

Mr. Speaker: When Members refer to any other Member or Minister, they should show some courtesy.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I do not recollect how I referred to him. I did not mean anything.

Mr. Speaker: I know.

Mr. Surendranath Dwivedy: I hold him in high respect. He has admitted that 'trouble was not wholly communal; there, the greater part of the disturbances was caused by hooligans who were in a sense neither Hindus nor Muslims but just trouble-makers trying to take advantage of the situation'. Who are these people?—I want to know. Is it not a fact—I want to ask him—that they had come across in Calcutta fire-arms which are also Chinese-make? Is it not a fact that the Pakistan agents were active in the entire area before the trouble actually took a serious turn? The Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner sees to it that he visits every single locality of Muslims in Calcutta.

Shri Tyagi: Before the disturbances?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Yes.

Shri Tyagi: Significant.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: A whispering campaign went on before the 11th January in all the labour areas of Calcutta. The Muslims labourers were told that after the 11th, very serious incidents were going to happen. Is it not a fact that Muslim shopkeepers were asked to effect riot insurance for their shops because very serious things were anticipated? This was done very cleverly and calculatedly. I charge the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan for what he has done. He has instigated this, because it was found that just after these incidents happened, he went to those places and took micro-films, tape-recordings and all sorts of things for international propaganda. They were anticipating this question coming up before the Security Council. That was how this was all arranged previously.

Shri Indrajit Gupta is here. He will corroborate me or contradict me. Is it not a fact that when Nanda held a conference. . .

Mr. Speaker: Ordinarily, when such a reference is made the word 'hon.' is used.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I am sorry. Is it not a fact that when the hon. Minister held a conference of other persons or political parties in Calcutta and appealed to them to maintain peace, the President of the INTUC, Shrimati Maitrey Bose, said that ' we can ensure perfect harmony and unity and peace in Calcutta provided Mr. Indrajit Gupta helps us in the dock area' where it seems the followers of the Communist Party—I do not know if it is the Communist Party or the AITUC—and Pakistan nationals were creating trouble?

These are all factors. I was thinking that when the statement was made, the Government would give us a clear indication of the forces that have worked behind all these troubles. But that is completely absent. Therefore, all that you do today will also fail to enthuse the people. What the people want from us today is an assurance of security of their honour and life in Pakistan.

What has happened in Pakistan? I would just make a reference—I do

not want to go into the details. The hon. Minister gave a certain account. But I will, for the benefit of the House, read only a portion of a despatch of a foreign correspondent, a copy of which I think our party Members in Calcutta presented to the hon. Minister, Shri Nanda. Based on Reuters news, the hon. Minister said that the figure of deaths was 1000. But actually speaking, there have been thousands of deaths and thousands of people have been rendered homeless. Therefore, if you do not give factual information, if you do not get it, I would make this request to Government. As is done in other countries, we should invite the International Red Cross or some such organisation and get the factual information so that there may not be such misinformed criticism or reasons for instigation of the same type of reaction here.

This correspondent, who has sent this particular despatch, starts with this paragraph—I will not read the whole of it—

> "Local press was ordered to print nothing on the wave of religious violence. Foreign correspondents found their copy was not getting out. And even American diplomats pretended to know little about worst religious strife in Pakistan since 1950. When pressed for facts of massacre, American diplomats lectured newsman on their responsibilities".

He goes on to say:

> "Dacca is in a state of shock and shame this week".

Further:

> "Priest was trying to help afflicted families. He came to East Pakistan fifteen months ago and was studying Islamic history at Dacca University. Not even his body is expected to be found now. Two American peace corps nurses who were working at Dacca Medical College Hospital were swirled into controversy over violence".

Again he says:

> "After a few hours, Pak authorities decided they wanted no outsiders around; they claimed that because of curfew girls would have to go home. Pak authorities saw to it that American nurses were escorted out of busy Hospital by armed troops. Other foreign doctors quickly volunteered services to handle what one senior Pakistan doctor told us privately were 'butchered bodies'."

Then he has referred to Rayerbazar area etc. near Dacca. I will not go into it. But, nine districts were seriously affected, and about 116 villages around Dacca and Narayanganj have been damaged and almost destroyed.

Here, it has been said:

> "If this story were told fully, it would go on and on. . . There were hundreds upon hundreds killed in most atrocious manner. But life means relatively little here."

Then, about Narayanganj, I will read out only a few sentences:

> "So touchy is Pak Government about relief camps that we were stopped from photographing them and turned out several. American and British officials have seen to it that food and supplies quickly get to camps. But because this fact would indicate depth of misery and numbers of homeless, Paks demanded that this be kept quiet."

Then again:

> "A Western businessman with years of experience in the sub-continent. . . happened to be

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in Narayanganj on days of violence. He told us this week:

> 'As we neared Narayanganj Tuesday by car I saw people laid out on sides of road either dead or injured. A little further along, I saw hundreds of people running. At first I thought it was some kind of festival or competition, Then I realized these were people fleeing in terror'."

This is a very grim account of what is going in Pakistan today. It is a fact also that the Pakistan Government itself has notified that the waters of the rivers Sitalakhya and Buriganga near Dacca and Narayanganj should not be used by people because they have been polluted by the floating dead bodies of minorities. This is what is going on in Pakistan, and how can any Indian with any sense of honour remain silent, be a silent spectator of all that is happening today?

Therefore, what I would like this Government to realise is this. I would again stress that this is not a question of minorities this time. This is a really calculated move in the sense that if you take proper notice of what is happening, you will find that this is a deliberate move to kill women and children and abduct them. Because, who are the minorities left now in Pakistan? All the middle-class men and propertied class have left. All those that are left there are the Namasudras and people who have very small means of livelihood like agriculturists. They can never be communal, they can never be against the Pakistan Government as such, but Pakistan wants to exterminate them, and therefore, they have adopted this new policy. They have not attacked them, but they have attacked their property, especially their women and children. This is what is happening in Pakistan, and our answer should not be merely to invoke international opinion to see that this does not happen.

I would ask the Government to consider another thing on the basis of what they have said so far. I base my reasoning on the assurances that we have given. The time has come when we should really think seriously as to what other means we can adopt to assure security and safety to the minority in Pakistan. It is an assurance given by the Prime Minister himself. On 23rd February, 1950, while speaking in this House, the Prime Minister said:

> "Major tragedy that is happening in East Bengal..6 If the methods we have suggested are not agreed to, it may be that we shall have to adopt other methods."

Sixteen years have passed after the Nehru-Liaqat Ali Pact was signed, but even for once the Pakistan Government did not agree to sit along with the Government of India to discuss any matter whatsoever.

I base my argument on the above assurance. Let us seriously consider what other methods are needed now to give protection to the minority in Pakistan. This country or the minority in Pakistan would not feel assured because you go to Calcutta with a batch of Ministers Again, you will interrupt me because I have used "you", but I mean the hon. Minister Nanda. He went to Calcutta with a fleet of Ministers, and what have they announced? Nandaji said, "We shall ease the migration rules". Shri Krishnamachari objected saying "liberalising is not the word, it should be eased".

What has been the reaction to this of even the British press? After this declaration of the Government of India, even the British correspondent has said:

> ". . . conditions for granting migration certificate on compassionate grounds would have to be eased for Hindus who wanted to

come to India because they were living in conditions of extreme peril and insecurity . . . It seems doubtful if this modest declaration of help will satisfy Bengali opinion this side of the border."

What is the problem? The problem is that we must create conditions in this country and give a solemn assurance to those who want to come to this country that they are our problem, that we shall provide them property, that we shall rehabilitate them immediately. Also, I would like this Government to make a declaration that in regard to the properties which they leave behind in Pakistan, we will make applicable to them the Evacuee Properties Act which was applicable to West Pakistan refugees, so that they are assured of the properties that are left behind.

I would also like this Government to make certain other things very clear, because it is a national responsibility. Shri Atulya Ghosh will excuse me—I do not know whether he is here or not—when I say that it is clear that a dialogue has been going on between the West Bengal Government and the Central Government, each trying to blame the other. But to me they are all one and the same. Shri Atulya Ghosh now comes forward with a big statement publicised in West Bengal papers.

Shri Tyagi: It is hollow from inside.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I think the hon. Minister will reply to it.

Shri R. S. Pandey (Guna): You have removed something, it has a hole.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Shri Atulya Ghosh says:

> "Since partition, the refugee problem has been dealt with in a haphazard manner."

I do not know whether Shri Mehr Chand Khanna is here.

An hon. Member: He is here.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He adds:

> "The refugees were taken on as an unwanted load by the Indian Government."

They have to make this position clear. Because the West Bengal Government failed to discharge its duty at a particular moment, they now want to divert the attention of the people by saying that it is the Government of India which is to be blamed, that they were always prepared but it was the Central Government which thought of the refugees as unwanted.

What about these fire-arms and ammunition? It is a fact that there has been large-scale unlicensed arms in Calcutta. It has also been said in some of the papers that arms are dumped in places of worship. I do not know what steps have been taken to unearth these arms. It is very necessary. If there are any persons going around in Calcutta or near about or for that matter, in the whole of India, without passports who happen to be Pakistani nationals, we must take immediate and stern action against them also.

Another question that is worrying the people of West Bengal very much is border security. I will tell you a story which is very disturbing. It is said that on the Pakistan side near about the Assam border and the Cooch-Behar area, people have seen many persons with Chinese dress wandering about. So far as I know, in Dacca there were probably only one or two Chinese shoe shops and there are not many Chinese, but it

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is said that particularly on the other side of the border they see many people with Chinese dress wandering about. If that is so, it is also a fact that on the Pakistan side of the border for several miles Pakistan has seen to it that no minority population lives there. But on our side, our people live without any protection whatsoever. If it is a deep laid game of Pakistan—God forbid—and if they make an attack on our country, I am quite sure that police force there which is very negligible or even our military or defence forces there would not be able to give any protection. We should think about the security of our border people. The way Israel has solved this problem has given great confidence to the people of Israel. They have kubbutz in these regions; the farmers are given laids and arms also. It is necessary that in all these border areas we have our own people's militia to resist any such attack.

Since my time is up, lastly I say that we must so factually represent our case that the whole world knows what is going on in this country. From that point of view, we have lagged behind. Lastly, the Muslim minority or for that matter any minority in this country, are our brethren and they are fully assured of their security If proof was needed, it was proved on this occasion. Any citizen, no matter to which creed or caste he belongs, will have to live here with perfect amity and harmony. We shall see to it that it is the duty of every Indian patriot that if there is at any time any attack on any minority community, he must lay down his life to see that the life and security of these people is preserved.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda): Mr. Speaker, the statement laid by the hon. Minister gives a very factual account of the tragic happenings in Khulna and other parts of East Pakistan but has not gone into the details of a solution to the real problems that lead to these things time and again. As I stand here today I am reminded of 1950-51 when this House discussed some things that happened across the border and its repercussions in Calcutta and of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee's resignation from the Central Government. He gave reasons for his resignation and ended up by saying about the Nehru-Liaqat agreement:

> "I only hope that the agreement will not be observed only unilaterally. If the agreement succeeds, nothing else will make me happier; if it fails it will indeed be a very costly and tragic experiment."

Fourteen years after that, we find that it is a costly experiment, the agreement was observed only unilaterally. Today we are faced with tragic events in Calcutta and adjacent areas arising out of the events in Pakistan for there is no justification for taking revenge on the innocent whatever may happen in Pakistan. I do not compare because it is not comparable position where two Governments have two different approaches, attitudes, and policies. There could be comparison between the people of India and Pakistan, more especially, the people of East Bengal and West Bengal are much the same; they speak the same language, the same heritage, lived and shared the same joys and sorrows through centuries and their reactions and responses are also much the same in spite of the political barriers which divide them. But it is the approach of the two Governments that makes the difference. Across the border there is a Government which does not believe that minorities can be equal citizens It is obvious that minorities cannot be given protection and security there. How can we then justify what Mr. Mukerjee said a little while ago, making a comparison of opposites. We deplore what happened in Calcutta; we do not tolerate it whatever may be the faults of our Government. they have seen that these disturbances were

put down as quickly as possible. The people of our State and of our city of Calcutta had been employed for many days protecting and rescuing people and giving them relief. Muslims and some Hindus were victims in the Calcutta disturbances and we had to help and give relief to both. I hope that the assurance given by the Government about rehabilitating quickly people who lost their homes will be implemented without delay.

It is obvious from the hon. Minister's statement that because Pakistan was bringing up her old case of Kashmir in the U.N. and she also made out that the loss of the holy relic in Kashmir was due to the Hindus, they provoked a situation in Pakistan against the Hindu minority and wanted to have repercussions in Calcutta. There is no doubt about it. As the P.S.P spokesman pointed out, we can see how things happened. But nothing justifies the loss of one single life or a single case of arson or loot against minorities in our country. But we must go to the root of the problem: treatment of the minority community in Pakistan. In all humility, I suggest to the Government that it is no use thinking of piecemeal measures. The situation has become very difficult today. Certain categories of migrants may come. We had Ministers' Conferences and Chief Ministers' conferences times without number in the past. Now again we decide to rehabilitate them outside the overcrowded West Bengal. I was interested to see that even as far back as 1950-51, it was mentioned that West Bengal was over-crowded already. In 1954, with the predecessor of the present Central Rehabilitation Minister—I was then holding the portfolio in West Bengal—we came to a decision that further rehabilitation in West Bengal would not take place, htat arrangements would be made immediately to remove the refugees or the migrants who came to West Bengal to other States. What has happened to them? What of that assurance that was given? In Andamans we have rehabilitated a certain number of persons and the absorption there was very well done, and it was a successful rehabilitation. Later when other migrants wanted to go to the Andamans, we were told that it could not be reserved for the migrants from East Pakistan any longer; there were also other over-populated parts of this country from where people must come. I ask you, were we asking for the relief of the over-populated West Bengal or for migrants coming form beyond our frontiers. I bring this matter up because even today there is room in the Andamans, and the Nicobar islands could also be developed. With regard to the Dandakaranya scheme, there was of course some kind of feeling that we should not put in the non-cultivator refugees, but there is some niggardly acceptance of the fact that some non-cultivators would be rehabilitated there. But, if the township is to grow, why should there not be more non-cultivator migrants who have come, and who have already come into this country, and who have not been absorbed into our economy? I have not much time, but I have one or two more suggestions to make. One of them is this.

I have failed from the very start to understand one thing, and that was from 1950 onwards, when I was in this House, why is it not possible to allow the migrants from East Pakistan for whom there is no proper arrangement for evacuee property, at least to use their own initiative to settle down and give them grants which are adequate and essential for that purpose? Those who are able to use their own initiative should find their own feet; let them find their own feet, because the Government's machinery is obviously not of such a calibre to deal with a problem whose magnitude is of this size. But that

[Shrimati Renuka Ray]

has never been done. That, I hope, will be taken up now at least.

There are other aspects in relation to this problem. I have not much time to go into the manner in which the loans are given; the loans are given in driblets, and this has resulted naturally in the hand-to-mouth existence of the East Bengal minorities who came before, and it has made them live in such a manner that they have not been absorbed as yet in our economy. This is one of the reasons why the Government is reluctant to take on more responsibility. I know their reluctance. I realise the difficulty that is facing the Government. Whatever be the reluctance, they have to overcome it. Whatever be the impediment, that stands in our path, we have to overcome it and we have to receive the migrants from East Bengal because unless we can do so and unless we can provide safety and security for them, there is no way out for our own country either. We shall be lost in the same upheaval if we do not take action here and now.

I do not understand for one moment why we do not take the initiative in going to the United Nations in regard to this problem of the East Bengal minorities. Why is it that we are on the defensive even now in this matter? Why is it that Pakistan, to further her unjustifiable claims to Kashmir, should have the effrontery to bring up the question of minorities? I know that our representative, Shri Chagla, has spoken well in the United Nations. But I say that this problem itself should be brought to the bar of world opinion, and with the help of the world outside, we have to solve it. I do not say that humanitarian grounds are the only grounds on which the East Bengal minorities should be catered for. But, in the world, when mass migrations take place, when people flee from one country to another, there is a world organisation to help them. Why is it that we have failed to go to that world organisation for help? Is it demeaning, when we have to deal with a problem of such a magnitude, or, is it not more demeaning when we have to go to outside countries to buy food for our own country because we cannot produce enough food and yet we do not go and get help of the world organisation to provide for the minorities. In saying this, I do not for a moment say that compassionate grounds are the only grounds on which the migration problem has to be dealt with. The migration from East Pakistan, whether we want it or not, takes place. But I do say that, because I do think that we have to remember the pledge that was given when partition took place. We have to redeem and honour that pledge, and as important as that pledge is, it is also important that in our secular State, every minority, whosoever, they be—Muslims or Christians—should be able to live in safety and security and with honour. If that has to be achieved, this state of tension, that continuously comes up must be done away with, and a harmonious position must obtain in our own country. We cannot for ever, for all time, continuously hear of the terrible happenings that are taking place across our frontiers. What has happened in Dacca and Narayanganj? I do not want to go into the details of it. I know that our Government are faced with a difficult position, because, if they were to give out everything that happens, in East Pakistan then there is fear of repercussions. But by not acknowledging them also, we are not able to place before the world the proper appraisal of what is happening.

What is happening today about the massacre of children, about the women, in East Pakistan, in Dacca and Narayanganj, whose fate is worse than death. I do not want to deal with it at any length. I do not want

to be emotional, but if you live in close proximity to the things that happen, it is difficult not to be emotional. I know that every Member of this House has full sympathy for those tragic people, who have come as migrants or displaced persons in our country. But, nevertheless, I think that it is more difficult for them to realise the whole problem in its stark reality, what problems particularly these migrants have to face from day to day, and I hope, now that after so many years these events have taken place, we shall no longer go on treating this as a piecemeal thing. I appeal to the Members of this House and to our countrymen as a whole and to the world outside that we must find a solution for the problem of East Bengal minorities so that we can live in peace and amity in our own land, so that we can remember the things for which the Father of the Nation lived and died. We have forgotten him in many ways.

I want to remind the House of one thing. When partition of this land took place, what had happened in the west did not take place in East Bengal because at that time Mahatma Gandhi had just been touring Noakali, Calcutta and Bihar. But later, from 1950 onwards, things became quite different, ad it is no use our trying to turn away from facts, the stark realities that face us. It is necessary for us to take some steps that are absolutely essential today by which we can get some help from the world outside and ourselves take the steps through which we can solve the problem of the East Bengal minorities who cannot live with safety and security under a regime which believes that they should be hostages and used ruthlessly against their claims for Kashmir whenever they choose.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan): Sir, I regret that I shall have to preface my remarks my entering my caveat against some of the statements made by Prof. Mukerjee, I am sorry he used words which will give a handle to Pakistan and also to anti-Indian forces in the international world. Therefore, we should be very careful before we try to equate India and Pakistan and bring them down on the same level. The people of East Bengal were in the forefront of the national struggle for freedom. As a matter of fact, the greatest stalwarts like Anand Mohan Bose, Lal Mohan Ghosh, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and others fought not merely for the liberation of Bengal, but for breaking the bondage of the whole of India. When India's independence came, we were confronted with the horrible task of the vivisection of the country. To a man, the people of East Bengal did not want partition.

13.41 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

What happened? Mr. Jinnah made a declaration on the eve of partition:

> "You may belong to any religion or caste or creed; that has nothing to do with the business of the State. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State."

The truth is that his successors have deliberately and blatantly violated this pledge given by Mr. Jinnah. Therefore, when Prof. Mukerjee says that the Calcutta Press was misbehaving, he completely missed the point. The Calcutta Press did its duty and I am glad to say that those papers whom he named were pointing out that the policy of the Government of India has been weak and vacillating. They were accusing the Government of persistent appeasement of Pakistan and called upon the Government to abandon that policy. They did not want them to take strong action against any particular community. That was entirely wrong.

I should remind the House that Dr. S. P. Mukerjee was then a member of the Nehru Cabinet. He called

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

upon me and I organised the East Bengal Convention. About 2000 delegates came from different parts of East Bengal. They wanted certain assurances about safeguards for their safety and honour at the moment of peril and disaster. What were the assurances given to them? I remember I read out those messages to the delegates. Dr. S. P. Mukerjee went down to Calcutta and placed those messages before them. The first message came from the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The Prime Minister's words were clear and categorical. He said:

> "We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by the political boundaries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen and we shall be sharers in their good and ill fortune alike."

Now when trouble comes today, particularly at the moment of the greatest danger to 92 lakhs of human beings—tortured and trapped humanity—people are saying, "Will the Prime Minister redeem his pledge?" Our charge is that all these pledges were conveniently forgotten and put in cold storage all this time.

What was the pledge that Sardar Patel gave? His words are more emphatic:

> "Our hearts naturally go out to those who were of us and with us so long but who are now separated. Few can realise the bitterness and sorrow which partition has brought to those who cherished unity and lived to fashion its details. But let not our brethren across the border feel that they are neglected and forgotten. Their welfare will claim our vigilance and we shall follow with abiding interest their future in full hope and confidence that sooner than later we shall be united in common allegiance to our country."

In 1950, the great killing started in Barisal. You remember, Sir, the Prime Minister was so worked up emotionally that he said, "I will resort to other methods if necessary". But unfortunately, the policy of appeasement triumphed and the Nehru-Liaqat Ali Pact was concluded. That led to the resignation of two Ministers from Bengal. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Mr. Neogy resigned from the Cabinet because they realised that this policy of appeasement would be a failure. Since the conclusion of the pact, what has happened? What was our Press saying? What were our people crying about? We were continually telling this Government "You have been unilaterally implementing this pact, which is totally wrong." We wanted its bilateral implementation, but our Government was not firm enough. It was weak and vacillating. It adopted a cowardly attitude and never compelled Pakistan to honour the obligations which it had undertaken.

What is this so-called riot in East Bengal? This is not right. It is an entire misnomer to call it a riot. It is a deliberate State-planned carnage, genocide of the minorities planned and connived at by the Pakistan Government. What had the poor Hindus of Jessore and Khulna got to do with the temporary theft of the Prophet's hair—the Holy Relic—from Hazratbal shrine? President Ayub Khan issued a broadcast fomenting communal frenzy and said that this must have been done by a non-Muslim. Thereafter there was a conference held. I told all that to Mr. Nanda. He has been good enough to give me an interview lasting for 2½ hours, as the leader of the delegation on behalf of all the Bengal parties. There was a conference at the Chief Secretary's office in Dacca and not one single East Bengal Muslim leader was called. Only non-Bengali Muslim leaders were called. Something happened

there. Thereafter, 20,000 people started a procession armed with weapons and carnage started in Khulna and deaths in Jessore.

Unfortunately, there was a repercussion in Calcutta. We deeply deplore it. We condemn it. We are pledged to the maintenance of the basic principles of our Constitution. We have under article 14 guaranteed equality to all our citizens, irrespective of caste or creed. Therefore, we do not want any loyal citizen of India to be ill-treated or tortured or in any way jeopardised because of his caste, creed or religion. What has Mr. Chagla said? Mr. Chagla is a great lawyer and he was the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. He said, "By its policy, by its action, by its utterance, Pakistan has deliberately incited these riots in Khulna, Jessore, Dacca and Narayanganj". His next sentence in the Security Council reads thus:

> "Pakistan deliberately and of set purpose created an atmosphere that riots should break out in East Pakistan. Thousands of innocent lives have been lost. The Pakistan Government cannot be absolved of its responsibility for the death of these innocent people."

What has shocked us most is not merely large-scale killing of people in Dacca and Narayanganj or Jessore and Khulna, but the very large-scale abduction and molestation of women that has gone on. You know there is an iron curtain which blocks out truth and light. But through the Iron Curtain have percolated little fragments of news due to the good offices of the foreign press and they put it at 1000 casualties. But I assure you it is absolutely wrong. The latest migrants who have come from Dacca and Narayanganj have told me as also the West Bengal Citizens Committee that the casualty figure would be ten times that figure only in Dacca and Narayanganj. I put it to Mr. Nanda....

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Do you mean to say that it is 10,000?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: Yes; 10,000 is the casualty figure in Dacca and Narayanganj only. I told Mr. Nanda, "What is the figure which the Chief Minister of West Bengal gave to you? Did he not mention something like 10,000 or a little more than that?" He said, "Of course, he mentioned a figure like that. But nobody knows exactly what is the truth". On behalf of the tortured and trapped humanity who are being persecuted in this manner, I make this demand: You must make arrangements for a correct appraisal of the total casualty in this area. Why do you not entrust this "work" to the International Red Cross? That is our first suggestion.

Shri Tyagi: The British are supporting them.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: As a matter of fact, the International Red Cross should be utilised also for other purposes. I am sorry to inform this House that we have got intimation from Dacca that in about 40 refugee camps where thousands of people belonging to the minority community are huddled together, children are dying, boys and girls are dying because of want of medicine, because of lack of anti-cholera vaccine, because of want of anti-typhoid vaccine. I myself approached the Bengal Immunity and other concerns for despatching such consignments as they could afford. They are perfectly willing to do it. But nothing can be done because of the attitude of Pakistan. I have requested the hon. Minister, Shri Nanda, to take up this matter, write to the Red Cross or some other international agency, and send the medicines immediately to stop further deaths of these children in the refugee camps.

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

Sir, it is not that the Bengal Press were inciting people for taking strong action against the minority community in Bengal. These papers like *Jugantar*, *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and *Basumati* were doing their duty to the country and to the nation by giving facts, by giving details and they were appealing to the Government to be firm. They wanted firm action, not by individual miscreants or by individual communalists, but by the Government. They were asking the Government to take organised action.

What is happening today? All the parties in Calcutta met at a citizens' convention. For the first time in the history of Bengal we could unite all the parties. They passed a very moderate and reasonable resolution which I placed before the hon. Minister when he was in Calcutta. What was the demand that we put forward. We said that we have completely lost faith in Pakistan and therefore our Government should open the door completely. There is no question of any easing of the restrictions. The door must be opened completely and all migration certificates or other requirements should be removed. I am ashamed to tell you, Sir, and through you this House that there had been directives issued by the Government of India not to permit migration certificates. That has been going on since the year 1958. As a matter of fact, I am also ashamed to tell you that the migration officer who is in charge of that section, who entertains visitors and all that, is a most hard-hearted and cruel officer. It is imperative that that man should be removed immediately. Although he is a Bengali and although he is functioning under our Government, possibly, he thinks that he will please his masters, the Government of India, if he stops migration certificates.

Why, I ask, was the Rajshahi Assistant High Commissioner's office closed down? 92 lakhs of Hindus are still in East Bengal and there are 40 lakhs in North Bengal. 40 lakhs of people were being served by one office at Rajshahi. That office was asked to be closed down. We submitted to Pakistan's threat and we closed it down. We said that we must retaliate, we must reciprocate. But we were so cowardly, so timid, that we did not have the guts to get their Shillong office closed down. Why should we submit to this kind of threats? What is the good of Shri Nanda sitting here and saying that we will ease the restrictions? How can a man from Rajshahi, Pabna or Bogra, in this troubled state of things, when villages are burning in and around Dacca and Narayanganj, go there? I am not saying all these things. The *Canadian Times* has said it. What does it say? It says:

> "At Rayerbazar—to appreciate the human impact, of what happened—and is happening around Dacca, you come to the Hindu potters' village of Rayerbazar on the edge of the town. For a day and a half Rayerbazar burned—its blaze lighting up Dacca and the screams of the killed and wounded filling the air. Screams became so bad that Dacca had to cancel part of East Pakistan lawn tennis play which blithely went on during part of the massacre. In Rayerbazar around 5,000 Hindus lived and many worked making clay pots."

Shri Mukerjee does not know that letters have come from Dacca and Narayanganj saying: "Do not send us any more money". This is what a young girl has written: "Mother has been abducted. Mother has been married forcibly. *Nika* has been performed. I have also been taken away. Possibly my marriage will take place in a few days. Therefore, do not worry any more. Consider us as lost for ever." Hundreds of such cases are still there. I appealed to Shri Nanda when he gave us an interview. Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri and others were there with us. I asked him: "Will you do something

for these poor women who are still there and who have not yet been converted?" I have got the full text of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. They say that the Pact is still alive. Why do you not enforce the clause of that Pact which says that every forcible conversion shall be repudiated by the Pakistan Government and the Indian Government wherever it takes place? It says that every kidnapping and every case of molestation of women would be looked into under joint auspices. Why do you not enforce that clause?

Then, thousands of people who have got migration certificates have been brought down from the railway trains. 4000 or 5000 of them have been taken down and huddled together. I do not say that they have been killed, but it is worse than that. With all their migration certificates and travel documents they have been pulled out of their trains before they reached Darsana or the Indian border and they have been kept there huddled together in temporary sheds.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): How can the Pact be enforced unilaterally?

An hon. Member: Have spine and you will be able to do it. (*Interruption*).

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: It is a question of courage. It is a question of your ability to stand up and expose the barbarity of the whole thing. Why do you not tell them that in the Nehru-Liaquat Pact there is a provision to ensure safe transit to the border of each country of every minority community member who wants to migrate and that it should be done under joint auspices. Why do you not send our own officers also to accompany these trains of migrants? Not only that; look at the apathy, ineptitude of our Government. Even today at Darsana, Benapole and other check posts where boys and girls are crossing the border, there is no arrangement for reception, there is no arrangement for food, there is no proper arrangement for clothes. Nothing is being done and they are still being molested. And, we get these stories of molestation.

What has the Press done? What has Bengal done? I have no love for the Chief Minister of West Bengal. He was going from village to village, from the district town to the subdivisional town, campaigning against me during the election period. A great Congress leader also was doing it. But I must be fair to him. Simply because the Congress was fighting me, simply because the Chief Minister was appealing to the people to turn me out of political life, I should not be unfair. It is absolutely unfair to suggest that the Chief Minister of Bengal was conniving at this communal trouble. Shri Mukerjee, Sir, used the expression "connivance at higher quarters".

I do not know what he meant but in the context of that speech if it refers to the Chief Minister or the Government of West Bengal, it is an absolutely unfair charge. I am satisfied that the Chief Minister has nothing to do about it.

14.00 hrs.

What I am submitting is that prompt steps should be taken for securing safe transit of refugees and for their reception at the check-posts and their rehabilitation as full Indian citizens. Some machinery should be devised for the purpose of rescuing the abducted women who are in a horrible state. That is our prime duty.

What is the policy? What is the indication in the President's Address of a new policy? It is the same old policy of bowing down to Pakistan and pursuing the old policy of pure appeasement. That policy must be given up. We want a new and vigorous policy, a complete reorientation of our old policy. Unfortunately, there is no indication of that, and that is what we demand and that is what West Bengal demands.

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I congratulate Professor Mukerjee on his very able presentation of the case of Pakistan. I am sure he will get a good publicity in the Pakistan press and his reputation as an international Communist will surely be vindicated by his repudiating all concepts of allegiance to one's nation or one's country.

Much has been said by Professor Mukerjee about the incidents in Calcutta, but I am sorry he conveniently forgot to mention many other things which happened in Calcutta or nearabout Calcutta. He forgot to mention that unlicensed arms were found in a mosque in a suburb of Calcutta. He forgot to mention that almost the first murder in Calcutta city was of a Hindu postal peon who was clearing a postal box in a predominantly Muslim area. He also forgot that the big *pandal* erected for the celebration of the Vivekananda Centenary in the Park Circus, which was notoriously known as Muslim majority area, was burnt down on the 8th or 9th of January. He also forgot to mention that in the borders of West Bengal and East Bengal slogans like "Pakistan Zindabad" were frequently heard. Perhaps his party men might also be conniving at the uttering of these slogans.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: All these aspersions are so entirely off the mark and untruthful that you better think about them.

Shri A. C. Guha: But do you repudiate the fact that the *pandal* was burnt? Would you repudiate the fact that arms were found in the mosques?

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Did I repudiate them?

Shri A. C. Guha: He gave a one-sided picture, a very exaggerated picture. The tragedy of it is that we stand self-condemned by such statements. The Government of India is also making so many statements, sometimes exaggerating and repeating rumours about the atrocities committed on the minorities here. Some political parties have also done the same thing for political advantage. On the other side, Pakistan suppresses everything. According to their figures, only about 150 people have been murdered in Pakistan while Nandaji gave the figure as about 1,000. But I put it to Nandaji, who is a highly ethical and moral man: does he really believe that the figure is only 1 000? Does he not think the number to be near about 20,000 in the whole of East Bengal? I say with some authority, with some authentic information in my possession, that the number of people murdered in East Bengal may be near about 20,000 and not 1,000. Shri Chatterjee put the figure of murders in Dacca and Narayanganj alone round about 10,000.

I shall cite only two cases. In the Dacca Medical College, according to an American nurse—I will say a foreign nurse because Shri Mukerjee may object to the statement that an American nurse is doing something good—more than 600 bodies were seen. Then, the Managing Director of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills made a public statement that in one section of that cotton mill more than 500 murders were committed and a whole section of that cotton mill was damaged so irreparably that it would not be possible for him to run that section of the cotton mill for a year or so. Subsequently, pressure was put on him and the very same Managing Director issued a press statement, praising the Pakistan Government for all that they did. This is the position in Pakistan.

What is the position of the minority in Pakistan? Shri Mukerjee compared the position of the minorities here and in Pakistan. He is a student of history. I do not think he should use his historical knowledge in that manner. What is the position of Hindu minorities in Pakistan? By the constitution they are debarred from holding some of the offices of the State. By practice they are excluded from earning their livelihood. Government service

is almost banned for them. Commercial licence or permit is practically denied to them. Then, what is the avenue of living for them?

Coming to the easing of the restrictions in the issue of migration certificates, our Government says that economic distress should not be a cause for the issue of migration certificates. Does our Government believe that the minorities there, being deprived of their avenues of livelihood will go on starving and still continue to live there? What is the reason for putting so many restrictions on the issue of migration certificates? For an ordinary villager coming from districts like Chittagong, Barisal and Khulna to Dacca to get a migration certificate in ordinary times it will cost Rs. 400 to 500. Now it costs much more. He has to submit five photographs of not only himself but of all the members of his family, including infants. What more restrictions do you need?

There is another point. We have been told that the conditions for the issue of migration certificates have been eased. What is the easing? Migration certificates are issued only two days a week—Tuesdays and Saturdays. Why can it not be issued on all the seven days, including Sundays, when thousands and thousands of terror-stricken people are trying to take shelter in India? Why should that office be closed for five days in a week and the people asked to wait and come only on those two days? Is it easing the condition for issue of migration certificates? Yet we are told that the conditions for issue of migration certificates are very much liberalised.

Then, it is regrettable and a matter of shame for us that our Deputy Commissioner in Dacca was asked to issue a press note to the East Pakistan press, repudiating the statement that there was any liberalisation in the issue of migration certificates. He warned the applicants that though all the applicants who have been applying for forms for migration certificates may be supplied with the forms, the mere supply of the forms will not entitle them to the grant of migration certificates and that they would be issued only after careful scrutiny of every case. This press note was issued only a week ago. Now, in the name of humanity, I appeal to this House and to the Government that the Deputy High Commissioner should be immediately asked to repudiate that press note and that he should be asked to issue another press note that everybody who is willing to come will be issued a migration certificate and allowed to come here.

Shri Chatterjee referred to the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. He also referred to a conference held in Calcutta which discussed that pact. The first condition of this pact was that there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit. Secondly, there shall be freedom to remove as much of the movable and personal effects and household goods as the migrant may wish to take with him. Movable property shall include personal jewellery. The maximum cash allowed to each adult would be Rs. 150 and to each migrant child Rs. 75. But what is the position now? They are not allowing anybody to bring anything. Whatever they may carry on their person the hooligans rob them of everything and they all come paupers and beggars without any proper clothes and without a Naya Paise with them. Darsana and Benapole are the last stations on the Pakistan side and Petrapole and Gede are the first stations on the Indian side. When they come from Darsana to Gede, most of them even do not possess the few annas required to pay the railway fare. I think, the Government have now arranged to transport them without payment of any railway fare.

Much has been said about the West Bengal Government. I do not belong to the West Bengal Government and when the Government of India deserves some condemnation I will not hesitate to do that, so if the West Bengal Government deserved some

[Shri A. C. Guha]

condemnation, surely I would have done it. What is the fault of the West Bengal Government? All that is now current about the West Bengal Government's weakness and failure is due to a somewhat hasty action taken by the Centre. I say that, hastily and without thinking properly, the Central Government intervened when actually the riot position in Calcutta was easing. The hon. Home Minister went there on the 12th. The peak of the riots was the 10th and the 11th. On the 12th I went to some distant areas in the rural areas and saw the situation there. The SDO of that area warned me and said that I should not go; at the same time he said, "I expect there will not be any untoward incident but still, I think, you should not go." Still I went into those troubled areas, not in Calcutta but outside Calcutta. I found the situation not so very bad; rather the situation was easing. Actually, the Central Government's intervention started from the 13th when I should say with my own personal knowledge, the situation was very much improved. The Chief Minister, immediately the situation took a somewhat serious turn, returned from Bhubaneswar on the 10th, and on the 11th contacted the Army authorities in Calcutta to find out whether he could get any help from the Army. He contacted and requested the neighbouring States of Bihar, Orissa and UP to supply some armed forces. All that was possible for him to do he did, but still we found that the Central Government hastily intervened in this matter. And political leaders like Shri Mukerjee have been condemning the West Bengal Government!

It was a very difficult situation. We should realise that it was not possible for the West Bengal Government or, for that matter, any Government to control the situation at the very initial stage. That was not possible. Sir, would you just consider one case? If a policeman hears that five out of seven of his family members living in Pakistan have been murdered, what can be the reaction not only of that policeman but of the entire Police ranks? That was the case. Many rumours and tales of so many horrible things perpetrated in Pakistan were coming that it was not possible at the very outset to check the upsurge.

Shri Chatterjee and also my hon. colleague, Shrimati Renuka Ray, have suggested that this is not a casual thing, that this is a political issue and should be settled on a political basis. If there is provocation on the other side then there is bounnd to be some reaction on this side, you cannot stop that provocation. The only remedy is to eliminate the cause of that provocation on the other side. The occasion for that provocation is the existence of the minorities there. I do not suggest any exchange of population. I do not suggest a single Muslim to be touched here or to be pushed out of India. But if those 92 lakhs of people—surely 92 lakhs would not come, but if they all come—is it quite impossible for us to rehabilitate them? What is 90 lakhs? Apparently it is a big figure but it is less than our one year's natural increase in population which is about one crore and ten or 15 lakhs. Our natural increase in population is more than one crore people, so, 90 lakhs of people are only one year's natural increase in population. 90 lakh people means 18 lakh families. I thought, Shri Khanna was here; I think, he has left. If properly arranged, Rs. 2,000 per family would be quite sufficient for the rehabilitation of these 18 lakh families, which would mean a sum of Rs. 360 crores. When we are planning for Rs. 11,000 crores or Rs. 15,000 crores in the Fourth Plan, is it a very big sum to set apart for the settlement of these refugees? Only thereby we can have peace and our Plans properly implemented. When there is provocation from that side, everything gets upset here; our political life, our social life, our industrial and commercial life—everything gets upset. To avoid all these things I would suggest easing of the condition of migration. Allow everybody to come here. It is not an open invita-

tion but it is the opening of a door to the terror-stricken and riot-ridden people to seek our protection. I do not like to make this demand only on the assurance given in 1947 or 1950. I think, in politics many assurances might have been forgotten but still we should have some regard for those assurances. Some of the leaders who gave the assurance are still living.

Before concluding I should say that these restrictions on the issue of migration certificates only on two days and the Press Note issued by the Deputy High Commissioner, all these should be scrapped and the Deputy High Commissioner should be asked to issue a fresh Press Note in the Pakistan press to the effect that everybody who is eager to seek protection in India would be allowed to go to India.

There was a question raised by Shri Chatterjee regarding the provision for the recovery of abducted women and of women who have been forced to contract marriage. My hon. friend, Shri Mathur, had then asked as to how it could be enforced unilaterally. It is not a question of unilateral enforcement. The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact is a bilateral agreement and it has been stated there, namely,—

> "In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved."

This Pact has suggested the procedure for getting redress to those people. The hon. Home Minister has also said that those who are in the camps are dying for want of medicine and food. The International Red Cross Society should be asked to intervene in this matter so that we can at least render medical aid and other necessary aid to those who have taken shelter in camps and also get some authentic information

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (बलरामपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल से जो चर्चा इस विषय पर हो रही है, जिस तरीके से एडजोर्नमेंट मोशंस यहां पर आये थे, जिस तरीके से वाकआउट्स हुए और जिस तरीके से आज भी इस विषय पर कुछ तकरीरें हो रही हैं उन से मेरा दिल सचमुच दुख से भर गया है। हम लोग लोक-सभा के सदस्य हैं, लाखों लोगों की नुमायन्दगी करते हैं। मेरा खयाल है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग हम से ज्यादा ईमानदारी की तवक्को रखते हैं। इतने बड़े हादसे हुए दोनों देशों में उनका मुकाबला करने का कोई सवाल नहीं उठता है। हमारे मुल्क का विभाजन होने के बावजूद हमारे भारत देश के जिम्मेदार नेताओं द्वारा देशवासियों को ऐसी शिक्षा दी जाती रही है और हमारे नेताओं की घोषणाएं और वक्तव्य सब इस प्रकार के रहे हैं जिसके कि अनुसार यदि हमारी तरफ माइनारिटी कम्यूनिटी का एक भी आदमी दुर्घाग्यवश किसी बदले या क्रोध का शिकार हो जाता है तो हम लोग सब उसको अपने लिए शर्म की बात मानते हैं जब कि पाकिस्तान की सरकार में ऐसा कोई नहीं है जो कि इस तरह की गलत कार्यवाहियों को रोकने की कोशिश करे। इसके विपरीत वहां और पार्टीशन मांगा जाता है और उसके बाद दिन रात इस बात की कोशिश की जाती है कि वहां लोगों को भड़कायें और वहां पर रहने वाले अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय के लोग खतरे में पड़ें। यह सब उनका कायदा व कानून रहा है। इसलिए इस विषय में हम दोनों देशों का कोई मुकाबला नहीं करना चाहते हैं और न ही कर सकते हैं। फिर भी मुझे यह देख कर ताज्जुब होता है कि यहां पर किस तरह से कुछ साहबान कल यह कह कर वाकआउट कर गये कि हम सरकार को सैन्शर करना चाहते हैं। आज कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि हायस्ट लेवल पर कनाइवेंस है। कुछ लोग यह भी कह रहे हैं कि इस तरफ कलकत्ता में, कुछ हुआ ही नहीं और अखबारों

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

ने कुछ किया ही नहीं। यह सब सुन कर मुझे ताज्जुब और अफसोस हो रहा है।

इससे पहले कि मैं और बात कहूं, मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार और बंगाल की सरकार को इस बात के लिए मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूं कि उन्होंने इतनी सख्ती से दंगों को रोका। मैं भी उनसे यह पूछना चाहती थी कि उन्होंने चार दिन तक क्या किया। यह बात ठीक है कि जिस वक्त पाकिस्तान में ये दंगे हो रहे थे, तो बंगाल की सरकार को यहां के हालात के बारे में पूरा ध्यान रखना चाहिए था और सख्ती से इन्तजाम करना चाहिए था। लेकिन मैं इस बात को नहीं मानती कि वे भुवनेश्वर में जाकर इसलिए बैठे रहे कि उनको परवाह नहीं थी या वे कम्माइव कर रहे थे। हो सकता है कि उनको इस बात का ख्याल न हो। हो सकता है कि उनको ख्याल न हो कि बात इतनी बढ़ जायेगी। लेकिन जाहिर है कि अगर वे दंगों को रोकना नहीं चाहते थे, तो अगर वे चाहते, तो केन्द्रीय सरकार की कार्यवाहियों में अड़ंगा डाल सकते थे। क्या मैंने नहीं देखा कि जब कि केन्द्रीय सरकार जबलपुर में दंगे होने के बाद वहां की सरकार से पुलिस के एक थानेदार या सिपाही को भी नहीं बदलवा सकी, कलकत्ता में उसने जाकर पुलिस के कमिश्नर तक के खिलाफ कार्यवाही करवाई। इस सिलसिले में केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जो कार्यवाही की, उसके लिए मैं उसको मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूं।

मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहती हूं कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की इस कार्यवाही से हिन्दुस्तान की माइनारिटीज में विश्वास रेस्टोर हो गया है। उनको विश्वास हो गया है कि अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार चाहेगी, तो वह इस तरह के दंगों को रोक सकेगी।

जहां तक माननीय सदस्य श्री मुकर्जी, का सम्बन्ध है, मैं उनको नाराज नहीं करना चाहती हूं, मैं नहीं चाहती कि वह नाराज हों। मैं उनका दिल दुखाने के लिए नहीं आई। लेकिन मैं बाअदब उन से पूछना चाहती हूं कि मान लिया कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया और बंगाल सरकार ने लापरवाही की, लेकिन वह तो वहां की एक बड़ी भारी पार्टी के लीडर हैं। वह एक लाख आदमियों का जलूस दिल्ली में निकाल सके। अगर ट्राम का किराया एक पैसा भी बढ़ जाये, तो कलकत्ता का शासन पैरालाइज हो जाता है। वह क्लास-वार सिखाते हैं। वहां पर मजदूरों के सैकड़ों संगठन हैं। तो फिर यह कैसे हुआ कि एक ग़रीब दूसरे ग़रीब की झोंपड़ी को फूंकने के लिए चल दिया? क्यों नहीं उन्होंने उन को रोका और उन को शिक्षा दी? जब वह कहते हैं, हम मानते हैं, उनकी जमाअत कहती है और उनके साथ हम कहा करते हैं कि दुनिया के मजदूर समाजवाद के लिए एक हो जायें, तो कैसे उन्होंने यह देखा, कैसे उन की जमाअत ने यह बर्दाश्त किया कि एक मजदूर दूसरे मजदूर की झोंपड़ी फूंकने के लिए चल दिया?

मैं उनसे पूछना चाहती हूं कि उन्होंने क्या किया। या हम लोगों ने क्या किया? कांग्रेस की बात मैं इसलिए नहीं कहती, क्योंकि जितना उन्होंने कहना था, सच या ग़लत, वह सब वे कह चुके हैं।

मैं आप से कहना चाहती हूं कि आज इतने बरसों से मैं लोक-सभा की मेम्बर हूं। मैं एक्सीडेंट से लोक-सभा की मेम्बर हूं, लेकिन पहले मैं सोशल वर्कर हूं और समाज-सेवा में विश्वास करती हूं। १९४७ में जब मुल्क का पार्टीशन हुआ, तो दिल्ली में भी दंगे हुए। दिल्ली कांग्रेस कमेटी की तरफ़ से हम लोग गांधी जी के पास गये। हम ने कहा, "बापू, हम मुसलमानों को बचा नहीं सकते हैं। चूंकि उन को बचा नहीं सकते हैं, इसलिए मुसलमान भाइयों को किसी और जगह पर रख दिया जाये।" उन्होंने कहा, "तुम ने उन को बचाने के लिए क्या कोशिश की?" हम ने कहा, "हम ने बहुत कोशिश

की, लेकिन लोग नहीं सुनते हैं।" गांधी जी ने मुझ से पूछा, "कितने मुसलमान दिल्ली में मारे गये ?" हम लोगों ने हिसाब-किताब लगा कर बड़ी भारी संख्या बताई। गांधी जी ने कहा, "दिल्ली में कांग्रेस के सदस्य कितने हैं ?" कई लाख की संख्या हम लोगों ने कांग्रेस-सदस्यों की बताई। गांधी जी ने पूछा, "कितने कांग्रेस के लोग मुसलमानों को बचाने में मरे ?" आज भी उन के वे शब्द बार-बार मेरे कानों में गूंजते हैं। हम लोगों ने कहा, "कोई नहीं।" तो वह कहने लगे, "फिर क्या कहते हो कि तुम ने मुसलमानों को बचाने की कोशिश की ? क्या कोशिश की ? इतने अल्प-संख्यक मारे गये, लेकिन तुम में से एक भी नहीं मारा गया और आ कर कहते हो कि हम ने कोशिश की। मालूम होता है कि तुम ने कोशिश नहीं की।"

गांधी जी के कहने के मुताबिक गली-गली में लोग घूमे और मैं आज भी दावे के साथ कहती हूं कि दिल्ली में ऐसा नहीं हो सकता है, इस प्रकार के दंगे नहीं हो सकते हैं। दिल्ली के किसी कोने में जब कोई दुर्घटना होती है, तो उस वक्त के कांग्रेस वर्कर दिल्ली की गलियों और बाजारों में घूमने चल देते हैं, क्योंकि दिल्ली ने गांधी जी की अरथी देखी है और यहां के लोग जानते हैं कि फ़िरकावाराना बातों का नतीजा क्या होता है।

मैं श्री मुकर्जी से कह रही थी कि अभी तो उन को उम्मीद है और सही उम्मीद है—उन को नाराजगी भी है, सही या गलत नाराजगी है—कि जितनी देर कांग्रेस की हुकूमत है, यह नवाबी करनी चाहिए कि यहां पर माइनारिटी कम्यूनिटी का या और कोई एक भी आदमी मुसीबत नहीं उठायेगा। मैं उन से पूछना चाहती हूं कि अगर यही रवैया रहा, कुछ करने के बजाये सिर्फ गवर्नमेंट का सैन्शर करने का रवैया रहा, तो अगर कल उन लोगों की हुकूमत बन गई, जिनके साथ वह कल वाक-आउट कर गये, तो क्या फिर वह लोगों को संगठित कर के फ़िरकापरस्ती का मुकाबला नहीं करेंगे।

मैं उन से कहना चाहती हूं कि सब से बड़ी और सब से आवश्यक बात यह है कि जितनी जमाअतों के लोग सरकार को सैन्शर करने के लिए वहां बैठे हैं, या कोई नाराजगी दिखा रहे हैं, बेहतर है कि वे और हम लोगों को समझायें और इन बातों के खिलाफ़ लोगों में रेसिस्टेंस पैदा करें। आज मैं इस सदन में पाकिस्तान के उन भाइयों को मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूं, जिन्होंने वहां पर फ़िरकापरस्ती का मुकाबला किया और माइनारिटी कम्यूनिटी के लिए अपनी जानें दीं। मैं मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूं कलकत्ता के उन लोगों को, जो कि आगे आये, जिन्होंने मुकाबला किया और इस बात की कोशिश की कि हम अपने यहां के अल्पसंख्यकों पर अत्याचार नहीं होने देंगे।

इस सदन से मैं पाकिस्तान की जनता से यह अपील करना चाहती हूं कि वहां की सरकार कोई कार्यवाही करे या न करे, लेकिन वह फ़िरकापरस्त ताकतों का मुकाबला करे। हजारों लाखों लोग यहां से वहां गये हैं। मैं खुद तो शरणार्थी नहीं हूं, लेकिन मेरे खानदान के सैकड़ों लोग शरणार्थी हो कर वैस्ट पाकिस्तान से यहां आये हैं। जो एक दफ़ा शरणार्थी हो चुका, जो एक दफ़ा उजड़ चुका, वह इस दर्द को जानता है। मैं पाकिस्तान के लोगों से अपील करना चाहती हूं कि वे देख चुके हैं कि फ़िरकापरस्ती का नतीजा क्या होता है, इसलिए वहां की सरकार कोई कार्यवाही करे या न करे, लेकिन उन की आवाज, वहां की जनता की आवाज, वहां की सरकार के खिलाफ़ उठनी चाहिए और वहां पर भी अल्प-संख्यकों की उसी तरह से रक्षा होनी चाहिए, जिस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान के अल्पसंख्यकों की रक्षा यहां की सरकार कर रही है।

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

जहां तक माइग्रेशन का सम्बन्ध है, मेरी सरकार से यह अपील है कि माइग्रेशन पर इतने प्रतिबन्ध नहीं होने चाहिएं । हम लोग देख चुके हैं कि जब झगड़ा-फ़साद होता है, तो कितनी मुश्किल होती है । वे सुरक्षा के लिए गांवों से दौड़े आयेंगे, परेशान होंगे, उन का सामान लुट जायेगा, जायदाद और पैसा उन के पास नहीं होगा । उस के बाद वे आ कर माइग्रेशन सर्टिफ़िकेट मांगेंगे, किराया निकालेंगे, अपना सामान ढोयेंगे, किसी तरह के सुबूत देंगे—किसी शरणार्थी के लिए यह मुमकिन नहीं होता है । इसलिए सरकार को यह प्रतिबन्ध हटा कर, जो भी वहां खतरा महसूस करता है, जो भी यहां आना चाहता है, उस को आने की इजाजत देनी चाहिए और उन लोगों को यहां पर आबाद करने का अच्छे से अच्छा इन्तजाम करना चाहिए ।

मैं फिर एक दोस्त के नाते बंगाल की कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि उन को आबाद करने में . . . (*Interruptions*) मैं तो दोस्त हूं । इस में शर्म की बात नहीं है । मैं उन से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि जो शरणार्थी आते हैं, उन को जल्दी से जल्दी आबाद करने में वे मदद करें । उन को इस बात की फ़िक्र नहीं करनी चाहिए कि बंगाली रेफ़्यूजी वहां नहीं जायेगा, वहां नहीं बसेगा, उस शहर में नहीं जा सकता है । आखिर वैस्ट पाकिस्तान से लोग आये, पंजाब से लोग आये और वे पंजाब से लेकर आसाम तक आबाद हुए । अगर बंगाल के रेफ़्यूजीज को हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे हिस्सों में ले जा कर अच्छी तरह से आबाद किया जा सकता है, तो जगह जगह उसका विरोध नहीं करना चाहिए कि स्क्वैटर्ज को कहां ले जाया जा रहा है, कहां नहीं ले जाया जा रहा है । सियालदा रेलवे स्टेशन पर बरसों से लोग बैठे हुए हैं । ऐसी कोशिश न की जाये कि इस फ्लोटिंग पापुलेशन को हम अपनी पार्टीज के लिए इस्तेमाल करें । यह उन के प्रति भी अन्याय है और सरकार के प्रति भी अन्याय है । यह कोशिश होनी चाहिए कि उन की रीहैबिलिटेशन करने के लिए हम जल्दी से जल्दी मदद करें ।

आखिर में मैं यही कहूंगी कि यह विषय बहुत गम्भीर है, बहुत संगीन है । इसको अपनी पार्टीज के फायदे के लिए इस्तेमाल करना मुनासिब नहीं है । इस में हिन्दू मुस्लिम का सवाल नहीं है, इंसानियत का सवाल है, बहुसंख्यक और अल्पसंख्यक का सवाल नहीं है, इंसानियत का सवाल है और इंसान होने के नाते हमें इसी दृष्टिकोण से इस पर विचार करना चाहिये । मैं नन्दा जी को सचमुच बधाई देती हूं कि कलकत्ता में जा कर उन्होंने अल्पसंख्यकों तथा बहुसंख्यकों, दोनों की रक्षा की । अल्पसंख्यकों की तो जान की, उनके माल की उन्होंने रक्षा की और बहुसंख्यक लोगों की इस नाते रक्षा की कि इंसानियत से गिरने से उन्होंने उनको बचाया । उनको उन्होंने इंसानियत से गिरने नहीं दिया । उन्होंने उनको कहा कि इंसानियत से गिरने का खतरा वे मोल न लें, मनुष्य होने के नाते मनुष्यता से वे न गिरें । मैं चाहती हूं कि इन सब मसलों पर अच्छी तरह से, गम्भीरतापूर्वक, संजीदगी के साथ गौर किया जाये और जो सजैशंज हो सकती हैं दी जायें ।

बहुत बार नेहरू लियाकत पैक्ट की बात की जाती है और कहा जाता है कि यूनिलेटरली हम इसको क्यों मानते हैं । एक साहब बहुत नाराज हो कर उठे और कहने लगे कि यूनिलेटरली इसको क्यों माना जा रहा है । मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि क्या किया जाये, यह भी पता चल जाना चाहिये । हिन्दुस्तान में तो क्या सारी दुनिया में कोई आदमी नहीं होगा जिसका ध्यान और जिसकी सहानुभूति पाकिस्तान में रहने वाले अल्पसंख्यक लोगों के साथ न हो । पाकिस्तान वाले इस को मानें या न मानें, लेकिन हर आदमी इसको जानता है । ऐसी सूरत में यह कहना कि हमारी सरकार इसको क्यों

मानती है ठीक नहीं जंचता है । हम जितना प्रेशर उन पर डाल सकें, डालें, इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती है, कोई इसके खिलाफ नहीं हो सकता है । पर यह कहना कि हम उस एग्रीमेंट को यूनिलेटरली क्यों मानते हैं, ठीक नहीं है । मैं सदस्यगणों से पूछना चाहती हूं कि अगर हम उसको न मानें तो क्या करें । उस एग्रीमेंट में अल्पसंख्यक लोगों को प्रोटेक्शन देने की बात है । क्या सरकार यह कह दे कि हम भी इन लोगों को प्रोटेक्शन नहीं देंगे । क्या हमारी सरकार यह कह दे कि अगर किसी को जबर्दस्ती कनवर्ट किया जाता है, तो इस तरह की जो प्रवृत्तियां हैं, इनको हम नहीं रोकेंगे, क्या सरकार कह दे कि जबर्दस्ती कनवर्शंज की हम इजाजत दे देंगे । इस तरह की बात कोई नहीं कह सकता है और न ही कहेगा । पाकिस्तान पर जितना प्रेशर डाला जा सकता हो, डाला जाना चाहिये । पर ऐसा कहना कि हमारी सरकार उस एग्रीमेंट को आज मानने से इन्कार कर दे, उसको क्यों मानती है, बहुत ही नामनासिब बात होगी । ऐसे सवाल आज हमारे दिलों में नहीं उठने चाहियें । देश में जो माइनोरिटीज हैं, उनकी रक्षा के लिए जो कुछ भी किया जा सकता है किया जाना चाहिये । सच और झूठ की परवाह नहीं की जानी चाहिये । जो सियासी लोग हैं, जो राजनीतिज्ञ लोग हैं, उनको बेपरवाही से और नासमझी से कोई बात नहीं कहनी चाहिये और अगर वे ऐसी कोई बात कहते हैं तो इसका लाभ होने के बजाय उलटा नुक्सान ही हो सकता है । यह कहा जाता है कि सरकार की कनाइवेंस से यह सब कुछ हुआ है । सरकार को आप कुछ भी कहें, मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है । लेकिन जब आप कनाइवेंस की बात कहते हैं तो क्या आपने इस पर भी विचार किया है कि जो हिन्दू बिना प्रोटैक्शन के बैठा है, पाकिस्तान में बिना प्रोटैक्शन के बैठा हुआ है, इस तरह की बात से क्या उसकी जान और माल खतरे में नहीं पड़ सकते हैं । जब आप सरकार की कनाइवेंस से किसी बात के होने की चर्चा करते हैं तो इसके क्या नतीज हो सकते हैं, इस पर भी आप को गौर कर लेना चाहिये । सरकार ने तो उनको बचाने के सभी सम्भव प्रबन्ध किये थे लेकिन आप जब इस तरह की बातें कहते हैं, तो क्या इससे हिन्दुओं की जान और माल खतरे में नहीं पड़ जाते हैं । इस तरह की बात कह कर आप ने क्या उनको प्रोटैक्ट करने की कोशिश की है ? इस तरह की अजीब अजीब बातें जब की जाती हैं तो इन को सुन कर ताज्जुब और दुःख होता है ।

यह भी कहा जाता है कि पाकिस्तान में लोगों को हथियार बांटे जा रहे हैं । हमारे द्विवेदी साहब ने कहा कि मसलमानों में हथियार बांटे जा रहे हैं । हमारे गुहा साहब जिन की उम्र अंग्रेजों की वजह से जेलों में बीत गई कहते हैं कि मुसलमानों में हथियार बांटे जा रहे हैं । यह हथियारों की बात सुनते सुनते हमारे तो कान पक गये हैं । हिन्दुस्तान का पार्टिशन हुआ । आप पाकिस्तान से आये हुए शरणार्थियों से पूछिये कि उन पर क्या इल्जाम था ? उन पर यही इल्जाम था कि वहां पर वे हथियार जमा कर रहे थे । यही कहा जाता था कि हिन्दू हथियार ले कर बैठा है और हमला करना चाहता है । अगर हिन्दू अपने बचाव का इंतजाम करता था तो कहा जाता था कि हिन्दू ने हमला किया है, उनके पास हथियार थे । यहां भी हथियार छिपाने की बात, तलाशियां लेने की बात है । रोजमर्रा फिरकाप्रस्त अफवाहें अखबारों द्वारा फैलाई जाती हैं और जिस तरह के ये अखबार हैं, उन से हम अच्छी तरह वाकिफ हैं । हम लोगों को इस किस्म के प्रचार से बचना चाहिये, हमारे लोगों को बचना चाहिये । मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि कुछ अखबारों ने वाकई में जो रवैया अख्तयार किया वह ठीक नहीं था, वह खराब था । वही रवैया वे अभी तक अख्तयार किये हुए हैं । मैं डिटेल्ड में नहीं

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

जाना चाहती हूं। कुछ के नाम दुनिया जानती है। मुझे तो खुशी है कि श्री अतुल्य घोष ने कहा कि सरकार को कार्रवाई करनी चाहिये, ऐसे अखबारों के खिलाफ। जो ये अखबार हैं, इनको दुनिया जानती है। कोई ये सीक्रिट डाकुमेंट्स नहीं हैं। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि इन को कोई पढ़ता है और कोई नहीं पढ़ता है। युगान्तर ने और अमृत बाजार पत्रिका ने जो कुछ लिखा अगर वह वैसा नहीं था जैसा होना चाहिये था तो वैस्ट बंगाल गवर्नमेंट ने क्यों होशियारी नहीं बरती ? उसको होशियारी बरतनी चाहिये थी। अखबार वालों को भी होशियारी बरतनी चाहिये थी। अगर कोई बात सच्ची हो और उसका प्रचार करके हम सरकार पर दबाव डालना चाहते हों, सरकार से कदम उठवाना चाहते हों, सरकार को उससे परिचित कराना चाहते हों तो वह चीज समझ में आ सकती है लेकिन इतना प्रचार करना कि सरकार कुछ नहीं करती है और जनता को अपने हाथ में सब कुछ ले लेना चाहिये तो बेचारी जनता अगर बहक जाये तो इस में जनता का क्या कसूर है, अखबार वालों का और राजनीतिज्ञों का ही कसूर है। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से दरख्वास्त करती हूं कि उनके खिलाफ भी सख्ती से कारवाई की जाये जो इस तरह के मौकों से फायदा उठा कर महज पैसा कमाने के लिए, लोगों में अपने अखबारों को ज्यादा बचने के लिए तथा लोगों की भावनाओं को उभाड़ने के लिए, इस तरह की खबरें छापते हैं।

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, after all this eloquent exposition charged with emotion and sentiment, I do not know how far I will be able to do justice to this important debate.

Sir, coming to the bare facts, the reading of this report is very painful and I submit that it is a matter of great concern and distress to all of us. We call ourselves civilised. We hang our heads in shame when we come to know that such things have happened. In 1964 when the globe is shrinking and becoming smaller, when national barriers are withering away and old beliefs and superstitions are giving place to new ideas and development of science and technology it is a matter of shame and it is unthinkable that thousands of innocent people could be murdered for no fault of theirs except that they practise certain religious beliefs. Sir, I am one of those who have sacrificed our everything to build a more integrated and prosperous India. We merged whatever little we had to build a stronger India. I cannot reconcile myself with those who were a party to the partition of this country. I charge them that they are the abetters of this holocaust. It is their lust for power and quick desire to ascend the *gadi* or the seat of power that made them accept our motherland to be truncated on the basis of religion. I still feel today that the non-acceptance of partition might have delayed the process of history; the independence of India might have been delayed. But there was no force on this earth which could have stopped the attainment by India of its independence. We see it in the case of Burma, in the case of Ceylon, and in so many small states in Africa; they attained their independence. But today the party in power claims that they are responsible for the attainment of India's independence. I say that they are persons who are responsible for having our motherland truncated on the basis of religion. It is the lust for power and hatred of each other that gave birth to these two nations, and we shall have to reap the consequences for the seeds that we have sown. I do not like to take this opportunity to join in the general hysteria that has been let loose but I would like to associate myself with others in condemning the forces which have fanned the inflammatory situation for their own ulterior motives and for their own party ends.

Coming to the details of this matter I submit that the whole thing started

from the disappearance of the holy relic from Hazratbal. Now, it is still a mystery how the holy relic disappeared. Till midnight it was there, and at five o'clock in the morning demonstrations started saying that the holy relic had disappeared. And after some time, again, how the holy relic reappeared without the knowledge of those concerned is still a mystery. Is it not that the mysterious or the unseen hand of Pakistan was playing in the disappearance of the Holy Relic, especially at such a delicate time when the whole Kashmir question was being raised in the Security Council? It is now high time that the Central Bureau of Investigation and all those who took up the investigation of the disappearance and reappearance of the Holy Relic in Hazratbal should come out openly and pronounce the names of the persons who have been responsible for all this. If we are hiding the name, if we are throwing a mantle of protection then we are playing into the Pakistani hands and I say, we are putting thereby the security of this country into jeopardy.

As you know, this thing was made a plea to flare up communal passions in East Pakistan, and it had its repercussions in Calcutta. I do not want to go into the details, but at the same time, I would like to urge that it was the unholy alliance of Pakistan with China with the ulterior motive of common hatred against India which was used to exploit the situation to such an extent that we might take the stand or we might take the initiative to break off our diplomatic ties with Pakistan or to force a war on Pakistan which we did not want at all. But I would beg to submit that the real wisdom lies in not getting provoked. We all feel that a policy of platitude or appeasement would not do. It is only a pursuit of the policy of three F's, namely firmness, fairness and friendliness which can contribute towards the prosperity of India and Pakistan as a whole. How we are missing Sardar Patel at this stage is a thing to be seen.

In India, we are supposed to be passing through on emergency, and a national emergency always indicates the need for a national and broad-based government and a Ministry of talents. But we never used this opportunity to have the co-operation of all those capable men. We thought that we were the only persons who were capable of delivering the goods, and this is the mess to which we are leading.

Coming to the question of rehabilitation, I beg to submit that I am at one with those who have demanded that the migration rules are to be liberalised or are to be eased, and at the same time, more facilities are to be given to those who have been forced to leave their hearths and homes in those circumstances there and who have come to take shelter in this country. I beg to submit that shelter has to be given to them and arrangements for their feeding and their safe transit and all other facilities are to be given to them by this Government. But a big question mark has been posed before us, and that is the question of living space. Have we got the living space?

The report says that the Chief Ministers of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra have thought over the question and have released two lakhs acres of land for the rehabilitation of the incoming refugees. I do not have the knowledge about the position in other States, but I have the knowledge about my own State and I know that the Orissa Government have completely failed to rehabilitate those aboriginals who have been uprooted from their shifting cultivation, even though it had been bombastically stated that for the welfare of the Adibasis, in the Dandakaranya area provision had been made to the effect that one-fourth of the land reclaimed would be reserved for the re-settlement of the Adibasis. But I know what the state of affairs is. I know that all the aboriginals have not been rehabilitated yet in those lands. Further where is the land for all those persons who have

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been or are about to be uprooted for the various development projects? Most hastily, our Prime Minister who was goaded by the former Chief Minister of my State laid the foundation-stone for the Tikerpara dam, for which there had been no blue-prints and whose financial implecations etc. had not been studied properly. It was the frenzy or the zid of some persons which made him lay the foundation-stone of the Tikerpara dam in which four lakhs of persons are going to be uprooted. About 2000 square miles are going to be submerged, and what will happen to the rehabilitation of the persons affected? Dr. Mahtab represents that area, and he knows the problem there very well. So, there is hardly any space in my State for the rehabilitation of these persons on any land. So, the only conclusion that we could draw from these premises is this. If we are to accept and we shall have to accept, these incoming refugees, and if we want living space for them, then Pakistan should be prepared to accede living space from Pakistan for the rehabilitation of those refugees in this country.

Dr. M. S. Aney: How shall we get it from them?

Shri P. K. Deo: I do not know how we shall get it from them and how it would be possible. Still, I feel, and I reiterate this stand which I have been having all along, that this is a humanitarian problem and this is a problem of the people of the entire sub-continent, which cannot be solved by India alone, but it is the joint effort of Pakistan and India alone that can solve the human problem of this sub-continent.

I beg to submit, as had been suggested by some of my friends that it is only a confederation of India and Pakistan that can contribute to the prosperity of the people at large in this area and of the entire world. So, that aspect has to be studied, and that problem has to be approached with this perspective.

We learn that the Swahili people in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika are thinking of wiping away their borders and forming one united East African Federation. If that could be possible, and if those in charge of the administration put their hearts into this problem and find out a way of solving this chronic problem, then they can achieve this, but that would be possible only if there would be surrender of sovereignty from both sides and there is a confederation of these two States into one single unit.

14.48 hrs.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj): In the very first place, I must congratulate our Chief Minister for the way he has tackled a very difficult situation. He was suddenly faced with a situation for which the Government was not prepared at all, because it was accidentally brought about by an unexpected explosion. Faced with that difficult situation, our Chief Minister exerted himself to the utmost and went without food and sleep in devising measures to maintain peace and public tranquillity. We saw the amount of anxiety that he suffered; and the amount of care that he devoted to help the people who were in distress in any way. It is a thing to be praised by all sides of this House.

Then I shall also thank the Central Ministry for having come to the help of West Bengal in tackling the difficult situation. They gave whatever help they could render. But above all, I congratulate the citizens of Calcutta. It is to their credit that the situation in Calcutta did not go out of control. The citizens of Calcutta were determined that the city of Calcutta must maintain peace and no quarter should be given to any disturbers of any community or any hooligan of any type. In fact, in different areas of the city, the people themselves combined to see that local peace was maintained, that shelter was given to anyone who felt that he

was in any sort of fear. That happened in my locality; it has happened in the locality of all our friends here who are residents of Calcutta. Therefore, credit must go to Calcutta itself and to its citizens that the situation in Calcutta did not take any very much ugly turn. In fact, as has been stated by our Home Minister himself in Calcutta, the situation there was created mostly by a sort of hooligans; it was not a regular organised communal disturbance or campaign or anything of the kind—that did not happen in Calcutta. So that credit must go to the city of Calcutta.

But I was distressed when I heard my hon. friend, Shri H. N. Mukerjee. This is a fact or feature of Calcutta life which is known to him and to me, but he put it in a way which gave a very wrong impression of the Calcutta people. The impression that his speech carried was that the people had risen up in arms, one section against another, one section trying to push out or dominate over another. There was nothing like that in Calcutta. I say this with all the emphasis I can command because during the whole of that period I was in Calcutta myself.

An Hon. Member: He was not there.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: But I am afraid that in this particular situation, the speech of Shri H. N. Mukerjee will be utilised for the purpose of Pakistan's arguments before the UN Security Council, that a Member of Parliament and leader of a party has made this statement that the life of the minority has become insecure in Calcutta. Actually, there is nothing like that—I do not know how Prof. Mukerjee began his speech that way.

I give another other instances. There were disturbances in the 24-Parganas border. A section of the Mussalmans in that border wanted to leave for Pakistan, a number of families, say 200. What happened? The Hindus of the locality combined, approached them and appealed to them and persuaded them not to go to Pakistan but to come back and stay in their own homes. These are recorded facts. Why should these be denied? Why should these things not be admitted?

This is the life in the Indian Republic. This is the culture and development of the past 16 years. By a sudden explosion in Kashmir or anywhere else, we cannot get out of that life, even if we tried to do so. That has been our training and the tradition we have built up these 16 years. We cannot shake off that tradition; we are determined that we shall not shake off that tradition now. That is the position that obtained in Calcutta.

How did the situation develop? It originated in Kashmir, to which many hon. Members have referred. I request every Member to note this peculiar coincidence. Whenever Pakistan has a case to take to the UN, there is trouble in Kashmir and simultaneous trouble in East Bengal. I request hon. Members to follow the entire history from 1950. They will see this coincidence all through. When in 1950, disturbances took place, our Prime Minister in this House itself stated that the Kashmir affair was by some link connected with East Bengal. He himself realised that at the very first instance. It was because Pakistan had to take a case to the UN that trouble originated in Kashmir and simultaneous trouble erupted in East Bengal. This line of history should be pursued in order to understand in what context the whole thing has been happening.

We are talking of minorities. The minorities in the two States have completely different status. In our case, our Constitution guarantees fundamental rights to every citizen living here. Our Constitution is based on adult franchise. Votes are cast in our elections through adult franchise. But what is the position of the minorities in East Bengal? The Constitution itself relegates them to an

[Shdi C. K. Bhattacharyya]

inferior status. It says that they should have something like a second-rate citizenship.

Therefore, the position of the minorities in the two States differs radically. This should be remembered. I should say that from 1950 the minorities in East Bengal have been put in the position of virtual outlaws. It is because of this that such things are taking place there; otherwise, they could not have taken place. They are in the position of virtual outlaws. In fact, when our Prime Minister, after the 1950 disturbances met us in a press conference in Calcutta—I was not a Member of Parliament then—as a pressman I put it to him whether the minorities in East Bengal were not in the position of virtual outlaws. I requested him to consider it, because their newspapers themselves were declaring that 'these people are aliens living amongst us'. That mentality has been created in East Bengal. That is why they suffer like this periodically.

I give an instance. Some months back, there was some trouble in a part of East Bengal near Gopalganj sub-division Faridpur. The minorities living there are very sturdy agriculturists. When oppression took place, they resisted, not only resisted but successfully resisted. When the aggressors or oppressors were successfully resisted, the military came in. What the oppressors could not do, the military did. Between the oppressors on the one hand and the military on the other, the minorities in Gopalganj had a life of shame and suffering not disclosed. Our Prime Minister had occasion to refer to it in the House itself after that incident.

We should keep the background before us when we judge things happening in East Bengal. Why cannot the minorities there feel secure? Why cannot they live in peace? Because they know that in times of difficulty, the help of the State and the administration will not be available. That is the position.

Now, let us look at the difference between the attitude that India has taken up and that the Pakistan Government has taken up. On the very day he went to Calcutta, our Home Minister said that the life of every Mussaiman is sacred and the Government will take all steps to protect each one of them. What is the position the Pakistan Government took up? Look at the attempts they are making to suppress and conceal as much of the happenings as possible in East Bengal. Here I must say that in a way, Pakistan has got an advantage over us. They do not give out what is happening there—rather they are trying to suppress as much of it as they can. For our part, we give a faithful picture of everything that happens, the deaths, suffering, destruction of property—everything. Our Home Minister, and our Chief Minister in West Bengal have been giving daily correct and true statements of everything that has happend. We go further, we try not to give a horrid picture, or a picture with horrifying details, of what is happening in Pakistan; we try to prevent it so that on this side of the border, life may not be disturbed. Pakistan is taking advantage of all these things. In the international field, they are trying to utilise the statements that we make, and they say in their case nothing has happened as we have not made any statement.

15.00 hrs.

As for the press in Pakistan, at least a section of it tried to give some picture of what was happening, and I must pay a compliment to them. The Government at first tried to control the press, but when the press refused to be controlled, the publication of the papers was stopped altogether, so that nothing was reflected of what is happening in Pakistan, to which my friends Shri A. C. Guha and Shri N. C. Chatterjee also referred. That is the advantage they are getting over us. It may be a diplomatic advantage, but whatever it is,

that advantage is on their side. That also we should remember.

Regarding the trouble in the area where these things have happened, I have been there, I have lived there for a long time. This entire area is intersected by rivers. There are five rivers. Two of them, the Sitalakhya and Buriganga have been mentioned by Shri Chatterjee. The other three rivers are Dhaleshwari, Padma and Meghna. Therefore, for whatever they did, they could easily escape responsibility by utilising the flow of the rivers, and making the rivers a source of disposal of the dead bodies. That is what has happened. The Sitalakhya and Buriganga are narrow rivers, and these were so much spoiled that they issued a statement asking the people not to use the waters of these rivers. These were things that happened there. So, we must try to get at what has actually happened there either through an international organisation, or through a joint survey, to which up till now Pakistan has not agreed.

Regarding the refugees who are coming, I should characterise them not as refugees. In Europe, they use two terms; one is "refugees", and the other is "expellees". In this case, they are expellees, because they are compelled to leave the land under circumstances which they cannot tolerate, under which they cannot live. If security of life is disturbed, how can they live there?

This thing has been going on from 1950, and it has come to a head now, and whether we invite them or not, the doors must be kept open to receive as many of them as want to come. For the present, I believe there are at least two lakhs immediately ready to come, and the sufferings they undergo when coming are reported in the papers partly. The Pakistan administration has developed an uncanny interest in women. The husband is allowed to come, and the wife is kept back. There was a report in yesterday's papers that the husband was allowed to come, but because he could not produce the sales tax certificate, income-tax certificate etc., the wife has been kept back. To my personal knowledge, about a troubled area the father has been killed and his 18 year old daughter has been taken away. I say with personal knowledge of what has happened. So, these things have to be investigated, and the unfortunate women have got to be rescued in whatever way our Government can find out to use with Pakistan.

I shall conclude with one sentence. As I find it today, there are three alternatives before the minorities in Pakistan. Either, they must be ready to die, be killed, or they must be ready to subject themselves to forcible conversion, or they must be allowed to come over to India. These are the three alternatives before them, there is no fourth, and it is for us to decide now with eyes wide open as to which consequence this minority will be pushed to.

I had sent in a question about Rajshahi where a very influential Hindu family were forced to conversion. The daughters and daughters-in-law were taken away and kept back, and the family was told that if they were ready to convert themselves, the girls would be restored. Entirely helpless, the family got ready to convert itself. That is the process through which things are going on in Pakistan. It is for us now to decide which of the courses will predominate, and to which course the minority will be pushed. Let us do it with full consciousness of our responsibility, and with our eyes wide open as to what it means to India if the entire 93 lakhs of people are compelled to surrender themselves to this humiliating condition.

श्री बड़े (खारगोन) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पूर्वी बंगाल में यह जो हिन्दुओं पर अत्याचार हुए और अल्पसंख्यकों के साथ जिस तरह

[श्री बड़े]

का अमानवीय व्यवहार हुआ उसको लेकर यहां भारत में साधारणतः हिन्दुओं के मन में यह विचार आया कि यह सब चीन से मिले हुए पाकिस्तान की करतूतें हैं और ऐसा विचार रखने का हमारे पास कारण भी है। मेरे पास कुछ अखबारों की कटिंग्स भी हैं जिनसे कि इस तरह का विचार हम लोगों का बना है। पहले तो सिक्युरिटी कौंसिल में कश्मीर का सवाल खड़ा करना, बाद में हजरतबल की दरगाह से हजरत मुहम्मद के पवित्र बाल की चोरी होना, उस के साथ में ईस्ट बंगाल में अल्पसंख्यक हिन्दुओं पर अमानवीय अत्याचार करके फिर वैस्ट बंगाल में इस प्रकार के कुछ राएट्स होना और वहां दंगे होना, इन सब में पाकिस्तान का हाथ है यह स्पष्ट मालूम पड़ता है।

वहां ईस्ट बंगाल में ५०० डैट बौडीज डाकेश्वरी क्लाथ मिल में मिलीं और उस के बाद भी कितनी ही और लाशें नदियों में बहती हुई अभागे हिन्दुओं की आ रही हैं। वहां पर औरतों को जबरदस्ती निकाह पढ़ाया जा रहा है। लड़कियों पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। बच्चों की हत्याएं हो रही हैं। इन सब का पाप मैं समझता हूं कि इस कांग्रेस शासन और उस के जिम्मेदार नेताओं पर है जिन्हों ने कि इस देश का हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान में बंटवारा किया। कौन नहीं जानता कि जिस वक्त पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान का बंटवारा हुआ ठीक इसी तरह के दृश्य उस समय भी दिखाई दे रहे थे। जब आजादी प्राप्ति के उपलक्ष्य में इधर शहनाई बज रही थीं और सिंदूर लग रहे थे तब उधर पाकिस्तान में रह रहे अल्पसंख्यक हिन्दुओं व सिक्खों पर तरह तरह के अत्याचार हो रहे थे और हिन्दू व सिक्ख महिलाओं का जबरदस्ती अपहरण किया जा रहा था। जो चीज उस वक्त हो रही थी वही बलात् धर्म-परिवर्तन, लूटमार आदि अभी तक वहां ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में चल रही है। बंटवारे के समय हिन्दुओं को यह आश्वासन दिया गया था कि उनकी इज्जत जान व माल वहां पर सुरक्षित रहेगी। इस के लिए नेहरू लियाकत पैक्ट भी हुआ लेकिन आज तक हम देखते आये हैं कि पाकिस्तान ने उस पैक्ट पर अमल नहीं किया है। पाकिस्तान सदा मुसलमानों का पक्ष लेता है जबकि हमारा शासन हिन्दुओं की जानें बचाने में असफल हो रहा है।

यह कहा गया है कि कलकत्ते में हिन्दू-मुसलमानों के दंगे हुए लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि यह हिन्दू मुसलमानों के दंगे बिलकुल नहीं हुए थे। यह पाकिस्तान ने पालीटीकल दंगे कराये थे हालांकि इस को श्री मुकर्जी ने अपनी स्पीच में नहीं कहा लेकिन यह वाक़या है कि वहां जब जब डिस्टरबेंसेज होते थे तो पाकिस्तान ज़िंदाबाद के नारे लगते थे। वहां पर स्वामी विवेकानंद का जो मंडप जलाया गया और मारकाट हुई तो उसमें क्या हिन्दुओं का हाथ था? दरअसल उसमें पाकिस्तान का हाथ था और उसने यह कराया। वेस्ट बंगाल में पाकिस्तान ज़िंदाबाद के नारे लगाये गये। वेस्ट बंगाल में जो हिंदुओं पर अत्याचार हुए हैं उन में भी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और प्रो चाइनी पार्टी का हाथ होने की आशंका मुझे लगती है क्योंकि कम्युनिस्ट चाइना और पाकिस्तान पहले से दोस्त हो गये हैं, आपस में सांठगांठ हो गयी है। चाइना की एक लौबी इस कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में आ गयी है यह बात वेस्ट बंगाल में बहुत जोरों से है और वहां जो अत्याचार हुए हैं वह पाकिस्तान और वहां के प्रो चाइना कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों ने मिल कर कराये होंगे, ऐसी सम्भावना जान पड़ती है।

मैं तो समझता हूं कि जब हमारे मित्र मुकर्जी ने नागपुर में छपे एक पैम्पफलैट का जिक्र किया और उस का लेकर ब्लिट्ज अखबार ने जो हमें कोसा है वह ठीक उस तरह से है कि जब हाथी गुजरता है तो कुत्ते भौंकते हैं। इस तरह से ब्लिट्ज अखबार ने भौंकना शुरू किया है लेकिन मैं मुकर्जी और दूसरे

कुछ लोगों को जो ऐसा कहते हैं कि यह वेस्ट बंगाल में सब जनसंघ ने कराया है उसको मैं यहां पर जवाब दे देना चाहता हूं । गुरु गोलवलकर के यहां पर न रहते हुए भी उन का नाम न ले कर उन्होंने पार्लियामेंटरी एटीकेट का पालन नहीं किया । ब्लिट्ज और लिंक में हमारे विरुद्ध बातें प्रकाशित हुआ करती हैं । उन का उत्तर देने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है, क्योंकि चर्चिल ने एक बार कहा था कि जब हाथी जाता है, तो कुत्ते भौंकते हैं और अगर हाथी एक एक कुत्ते के पीछे लग जाये, तो उसके लिए आगे बढ़ना असम्भव हो जायेगा ।

लेकिन अगर इस पार्लियामेंट के बड़े बड़े लोग कोई बात कहते हैं, तो उन को जवाब देना हमारा कर्तव्य हो जाता है । अगर मैं उस समय यहां पर होता, तो जरूर उन को इन्टरप्ट करता ।

१८ जनवरी, १९६४ के हिन्दुस्तान स्टैंडर्ड में यह प्रकाशित हुआ है :

> "It has definite information that some officials of the Pak High Commission had been visiting some Muslim pockets in the city with the start of the disturbances in Khulna. Even during the disturbances in Calcutta, these officials went round the disturbed places, meeting selected individuals."

पाकिस्तान हाई कमीशन के कुछ अधिकारी वेस्ट बंगाल में गए और उन्होंने वहां पर कुछ विशेष लोगों से कन्टैक्ट स्थापित किया । वहां पर जब डिस्टर्बेन्सिस हुई, तो "पाकिस्तान जिन्दाबाद" के नारे लगाए गए । मैं वेस्ट बंगाल के हिन्दुओं को बधाई देना चाहता हूं कि ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के हिन्दुओं पर इतने अत्याचार होने पर भी उन्होंने अपने आप पर कंट्रोल रखा । हजरतबल से पवित्र बाल की चोरी हुई, तो कोई डिस्टर्बेन्स नहीं हुई । ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में इतनी डिस्टर्बेन्सिज हुई, तब भी हिन्दुस्तान में कोई डिस्टर्बेन्सिज नहीं हुई । पाकिस्तान के हाई कमीशन के अधिकारियों ने और चाइना की फ्रंट में जो कम्युनिस्ट लोग हैं, उन्होंने ये गे करवाए हैं और उन्होंने ही इस को बड़ा स्वरूप दे दिया ।

माननीय मंत्री, श्री नन्दा, उन के ट्रैप में आ गए । पाकिस्तान ने जोर से नारा लगा दिया कि हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमानों पर हल्ला हो रहा है, दंगे हो रहे हैं और मुसलमानों पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं। इस पर माननीय मंत्री सेना ले कर वहां दौड़े । वह ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के हिन्दुओं को बचाने के लिए सेना ले कर क्यों नहीं दौड़े ? वह हमारी माताओं और भगिनियों को बचाने के लिए ईस्ट पाकिस्तान क्यों नहीं गए ?

कलकत्ता में पुलिस के कमिश्नर, श्री घोष ने मुसलमानों के घरों से फ़ायर आर्म्ज निकाले, जोकि पाकिस्तान में बने हुए थे । उन्होंने पूजा के स्थानों से, पवित्र स्थानों से, आर्म्ज निकाले । लेकिन मंत्री जी ने वहां जा कर कहा कि आम ठीक नहीं हुआ और मिलिटरी के हाथ में व्यवस्था दे दो । इस से सारे जगत में यह बात फैल गई कि हिन्दुस्तान में गड़बड़ हो रही है और इसी लिए वहां पर आर्मी भेजी गई है । नन्दा जी ने यह भी कहा कि वहां की सिटुएशन आउट आफ कंट्रोल हो गई । इस प्रकार पाकिस्तान के हाथ मजबूत करने में हमारे शासन ने मदद की है । नवीन होम मिनिस्टर होने के नाते उन्होंने एक-दम एक्शन ले लिया । उनक उद्देश्य पवित्र होगा, लेकिन जो एक्शन उन्हों ने लिया, उस का परिणाम खराब हुआ है । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि बंगाल में जो डिस्टर्बेन्सिज हुई हैं, वे केवल इसलिए हुई हैं कि हमारे शासन ने वहां की परिस्थिति का ठीक आकलन नहीं किया । जहां तक गुंडों का सम्बन्ध है, कौन गुंडे हैं यह देखा नहीं गया और हम देखते हैं कि ज्यादातर एरेस्ट्स निर्दोष हिन्दुओं की की गई हैं ।

[श्री बड़े]

माननीय मंत्री, श्री नन्दा, ने वहां पर सब पार्टियों की जो मीटिंग बुलाई, उसमें जनसंघ के प्रतिनिधि ने भी पार्ट लिया । श्री हरिन मुकर्जी ने कहा कि जनसंघ के प्रतिनिधि ने वहां से वाक आउट किया । मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि इस का कारण यह था कि नन्दा जी ने यह कहा कि यह लिखा जाना चाहिए कि मुस्लिम्ज़ विल बि गिवन आल प्रोटेक्शन, लेकिन जनसंघ के प्रतिनिधि ने कहा कि यह लिखा जाना चाहिए कि सिटिज़न्ज़ विल बि गिवन आल प्रोटेक्शन । यह बात स्वीकार न किये जाने पर उसने वाक आउट किया । मुसलमानों के तो लिए तो सरकार को इतना दुख होता है, लेकिन उधर से जो हिन्दू आते हैं, उनके लिए सरकार को कोई सहानुभूति नहीं है, उनके लिए उस को कोई दुख नहीं होता है । शासन की इस काट्राडिक्ट री पालिसी के कारण ही यह नुक्सान हो रहा है । अमृत बाजार पत्रिका ने डिस्क्वैटिंग के शीर्षक से लिखा है :

"Men in authority as well as in the street have repeatedly—and not incorrectly—ascribed the West Bengal happenings to the Hindu massacre in Khulna and Jessore. That the gruesome events in East Pakistan had an agonising—and natural—psychological repercussion on the West Bengal Hindus is undeniable. But from what source, local and remote, came the spark that set ablaze this tense temper requires a thorough probe inasmuch as there are reasonable grounds to suspect that secret Pakistani hands played a major role in provoking the riots in Calcutta and elsewhere in West Bengal. It was, on all showing, part of Pakistan's master plan that started with the violent anti-Indian campaign over the disappearance of the sacred relic from the Hazratbal shrine in Kashmir and was followed by the first round of Hindu killing in Khulna and Jessore."

अमृत बाजार पत्रिका ने जो यह कहा है कि बैस्ट बंगाल के दंगों के पीछे पाकिस्तान का हाथ है । शासन को इस बात की इन्वेस्टीगेशन करनी चाहिए थी । ऐसा न कर के उस ने वहां तुरन्त मिलिटरी भेज दी । वहां पर शान्ति कायम की गई, लेकिन हर एक पेपर में यह आ रहा है कि वहां पर उल्टे हिन्दुओं पर ही पुलिस के अत्याचार हो रहे हैं । हिन्दुस्थान सटैंडर्ड के एडिटोरियल में लिखा है :

"Complaints have been pouring in. Some have even gone to the Chief Minister. Many an innocent persons has been manhandled and abused before arrest. In places even women have not been spared—they have been subjected to billingsgate, pushed about and beaten. Husband has been beaten in presence of the wife, children under the very eyes of the parents. There is a comic element as well. The police often arrest men in order to fulfil their daily quota, knowing full well that there is no case against them. Police zoolum must stop at once."

अगर यह बात सत्य है, तो इस का अर्थ यह है कि जख्म करने के बाद उन पर नमक छिड़का जा रहा है । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि पेपर्ज में जो बातें आ रही हैं, क्या नन्दा जी ने उन पर ध्यान दिया है ।

वहां पर तीन केन्द्रीय मिनिस्टरों के जाने के बारे में अमृत बाजार पत्रिका में लिखा गया है :

"Three Union Ministers—Nanda Krishnamachari and Khanna—who arrived in Calcutta on Tuesday evening on a fact-finding mission, left the city for New Delhi on Wednesday after a "realistic appraisal" of West Bengal's problems."

इस में यह भी कहा गया है कि माननीय मंत्री, श्री कृष्णमाचारी, ने कहा कि ईस्ट

पाकिस्तान से आने के सम्बन्ध में जो रेस्ट्रिक्शन्ज हैं, उन को ईज किया जायेगा । लेकिन इस के मुकाबले में माननीय मन्त्री, श्री नंदा, ने क्या कहा, उस के बारे में लिखा है :

"At the same Press Conference, Union Minister Nanda, who had said earlier that the question before them was to make it easier for the affected minorities in East Pakistan to come over to India, also said: "We want the minorities to remain there, safely and with honour."

इस से प्रकट होता है कि तीनों यूनियन मिनिस्टर्ज के द्वारा अलग अलग प्रकार के स्टेटमेंट दिए गए । श्री कृष्णमाचारी ने एक बात कही और नन्दा जी ने दूसरी बात कही । ईस्ट पाकिस्तान में पहले १६ मिलियन हिन्दू थे, जबकि अब केवल ९ मिलियन हिन्दू रह गए हैं । हमारी पापुलेशन बढ़ती जा रही है, लेकिन वहां पर उन की पापुलेशन घटती जा रही है । वहां पर हिन्दुओं पर इस प्रकार के अत्याचार होते हुए भी हमारी सरकार की ओर से आशा प्रकट की जा रही है कि वे वहां पर आनर से रहें । वे वहां पर कैसे आनर से रह सकते हैं ?

इस सम्बन्ध में एक कविता लिखी गई है, जोकि इस समय मुझे याद नहीं है । शायद शास्त्री जी बता सकेंगे । उस कविता का आशय यह है कि जब द्रौपदी का वस्त्र-हरण हो रहा था, तो पांडव वहां पर बैठे हुए थे । द्रौपदी ने पांडवों को कहा कि तुम पर धिक्कार हैं कि तुम मेरी इज्जत नहीं बचा सकते । आज-कल के पांडव शरीर से सुन्दर दीखते हैं, लेकिन मन से दुबले हैं, टिमिड और कावर्ड हो गए हैं ।

कांग्रेस ने पार्टीशन को स्वीकार करके जो पाप किया, उस पाप का फल आज हिन्दुओं को भगतना पड़ रहा है । आज उन पर केवल इसलिए अत्याचार हो रहा है कि वे हिन्दू हैं । चूंकि देश का पार्टीशन करके कांग्रेस ने यहां का राज अपने हाथों में ले लिया, इसलिए उस की और उसके मिनिस्टर्ज की यह विशेष जवाबदारी है कि वे पाकिस्तान के हिन्दुओं को सुरक्षित रखने के लिए कदम उठायें । जो मिलिटरी वैस्ट बंगाल भेजी गई है, उसको बार्डर पर भेज कर इस बात का इन्तजाम करना चाहिए कि जो लोग पाकिस्तान से आना चाहते हैं, वे सेफली आ सकें । पार्टीशन के परिणामस्वरूप ही आज हिन्दू यहां आ रहे हैं । इसलिए पार्टीशन के समय उनको जो विश्वास दिलाया गया था, उस पर अमल किया जाये और उनके साथ विश्वासघात न किया जाये जो रेस्ट्रिक्शंज लगाई गई हैं, उनको मैं चाहता हूं कि लिबरलाइज किया जाए । नेहरू लियाकत पैक्ट में कहा गया था कि अदर मीन्ज अखत्यार किये जायेंगे । मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूं कि वे अदर मीन्ज कौन से हैं, यह आप हमें बतायें । हमारे नन्दा जी उनको पालियामेंट में जाहिर करें । हमने हिन्दुओं को आश्वासन दे रखा है कि, हमने उनको यकीन दिलाया है कि उनकी हिफाजत करने के लिए अदर मीन्ज भी अखत्यार किये जायेंगे । मैं चाहता हूं कि आज बताया जाए कि अदर मेथड्ज आप कौन से बरतने वाले हैं । अगर आप इसको बता दें तब तो वे वहां रह सकते हैं, वरना जबर्दस्ती उनके लिए वहां रहना मुमकिन नहीं है । तब तो उनको वहां पर इसका मतलब कटवाना ही हो सकता है । यही सच्ची बात है । जितने भी हिन्दू पाकिस्तान में बैठे हैं वे आपकी ओर दृष्टि लगाये बैठे हैं । वे यही दिन रात सोचते रहते हैं कि उनकी जान की, उनके माल की किस प्रकार से रक्षा की जाएगी । उनकी आप किस प्रकार से रक्षा करने वाले हैं, उनके बच्चों की किस प्रकार से रक्षा करने वाले हैं, यह आप बतायें ।

हम विदेशी अखबारों में ढाका में बच्चों का स्क्रीमिंग, बच्चों का चिल्लाना जैसी बातें

[श्री बड़े]

पढ़ते हैं । फारेन करेसपोंडेंट्स ने उनकी आवाज सुनी है । इस तरह की बातों को जब हमारे चटर्जी साहब ने सुना तो वह रोने लग गये । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह की खबरों को पढ़ करके आपकी आंखों में आंसू क्यों नहीं आते हैं, आपको रोना क्यों नहीं आता है, क्यों नहीं आपका दिल हिल जाता है ? क्यों आप नहीं बताते हैं कि अदर मैथड्ज आप क्या करने वाले हैं । अगर आप जबरदस्ती उनको वहां रखना चाहते हैं, तो यह मुनासिब नहीं है । आपको साफ साफ बताना चाहिये कि ये ये मींज आप अपनाने वाले हैं । अगर आप इनको साफ साफ नहीं बताते हैं और केवल आश्वासन ही देते रहते हैं, तो मैं तो यही कहूंगा कि ये फिजूल के आश्वासन हैं ।

हमारे भट्टाचार्य जी ने तीन आल्टरनेटिव दिये हैं और उन्होंने कहा कि ईस्ट बंगाल के हिन्दुओं के लिये यही तीन रास्ते हैं । एक तो यह है कि वे मुस्लिम हो जायें । यह बात आप भले ही कहें, हम तो नहीं कहेंगे । दूसरा आल्टरनेटिव यह है कि मुस्लमान के अत्याचार में मारे जायें । इसको भी स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता है । तीसरा आल्टरनेटिव यह है कि वे चले जायें भारत में । यह जो तीसरा आल्टरनेटिव है, यही अपील करता हूं और अहिंसा, सत्य और प्रेम के पुजारियों को इसे स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिये । वे चाहते हैं कि इधर आना तो उनको इधर आने दिया जाना चाहिये । आज स्थिति यह है कि मां रोटी नहीं देती है, बाप भीख मांगने नहीं देता है । वहां उनको रहने नहीं दिया जाता है और यहां आने नहीं दिया जाता है । यह उचित नहीं है । जो भारतीय लोग हैं वे शासन की ओर टकटकी लगा कर बैठे हैं और देख रहे हैं कि शासन कौन से अदर मैथड्ज यूज करने वाला है जिनसे हिन्दुओं की लाइव्ज सेव हो सकें ।

आपको देखना चाहिये कि कौन गुण्डा लोग है, कौन से ऐसे लोग हैं जो पाकिस्तान से मिले हुए हैं, जो पाकिस्तान के एजेंट हैं । आप देखें कि डाकयार्ड में पाकिस्तानी नेशनल भरे हुए हैं । इतना ही नहीं बोनग्राम में आप देखें नारे लगाये गये थे कि वैस्ट बंगाल ने पाकिस्तान पर अटैक कर दिया है और उससे वहां पर हुल्लड़ मच गया । बोनग्राम को बनग्राम भी कहा जाता है । मैं वहां गया हुआ था । यह इलाका पाकिस्तान से लगा हुआ है । बीच में केवल एक चौकी है । वहां पर एकदम नारे लगने शुरू हो गये कि पाकिस्तान ने भारत पर हमला कर दिया है । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि ये कौन से एलीमेंट्स हैं, प्रो-चाइना एलीमेंट्स कौन हैं और कौन वे एलीमेंट्स हैं जो पाकिस्तान की मदद करते हैं । डाकयार्ड में कौन लोग हैं । इस तरह की जो लोग कार्रवाइयां करते हैं, उनको एरेस्ट किया जाना चाहिये । लेकिन एरेस्ट आप उन को करते हैं जो तकलीफ देने वाले लोग हैं, उनको आप एरेस्ट नहीं करते हैं । कितना वहां पर पुलिस का अत्याचार हो रहा है, इसको आप देखें । लोग कहते हैं अगर आप कुछ नहीं करना चाहते तो न करो, लेकिन जो पुलिस फोर्स रखी हुई है, वह जो अत्याचार कर रही है, उसको बन्द किया जाए । आप कहते हैं कि वैस्ट बंगाल में राइट्स हुए हैं । मैं तो कहूंगा वे राय्ट्स नहीं थे डिफेंस था । इसके सिवाय कुछ नहीं था । मैं चाहता हूं कि पुलिस का जो जुर्म हो रहा है, वह बन्द किया जाए, जो लोग यहां आ रहे हैं उनके आने की व्यवस्था की जाए और जो आना चाहते हैं—उन पर कोई रेस्ट्रिक्शन न लगाई जाए ।

Shri Nanda: May I just make a correction? The hon. Member informed us that the Home Minister went there and brought the army into Calcutta. Factually, it is incorrect, because the army was called in to assist the civil power before I reached there. It is entirely within the competence of the Government to get the assistance of the army, so that I did

not try to take the army with me to Calcutta.

Shri Bade: That appeared in the papers.

Shri Nanda: It is wrong (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Shri Bakar Ali Mirza.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this is a subject which is not only a party matter but is a question of national importance. In fact, it clinches on foreign affairs. There is nobody in this House, in fact in this country, who does not feel great distress and pain at what has been happening in Pakistan, especially East Pakistan. What is the history? The holy relic from Hazratbal shrine was stolen in Srinagar, and two idols were stolen from a Hindu temple in Jammu. These were the two incidents which are bound to affect seriously, emotionally, the two major communities in this country. Yet, what happened? There were no riots, no turmoil. There was distress; there was sorrow; there was an attempt to restore the relic to the Hazratbal shrine and also the images to the temple. But what was the reaction in Pakistan? They were not distressed by the loss of the sacred relic from Hazratbal shrine. They considered that as an opportunity to exploit for political ends. Just imagine this: when the sacred hair of Prophet Muhammad was stolen, what an Islamic State thought of was, how to capitalise the incident for political ends? A man like Gen. Ayub himself, a thousand miles away, said all this is manoeuvred and the Muslims are not safe. In fact, he suggested that some Hindu must have stolen the relic. How he came to know that, I do not know. Then virulent propaganda was started about persecution of Muslims in this country, and naturally there were disturbances in Khulna. This, we have to note: that the disturbances first took place in Pakistan, while the incidents that should have affected the minority community happened in India. After that, there were stories of great distress, of people who have been suffering in Khulna, and naturally there was some reaction in Calcutta. What did the Government of West Bengal and the Government of India do? The moment they found that there was disturbance there, the hon. Shri Nanda himself went there with great speed and took the matter in hand. The army was called and within a few days the whole situation was brought in hand. So, it is no use dividing the responsibility between the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal. This is not the occasion for such a talk. The fact remains that Calcutta is a place where, apart from these incidents, even in normal conditions, there is a difficult situation for law and order purposes. It is a city where there are a number of *gondas* who are waiting for every opportunity to make some trouble and gain some advantage. In a place like that, quick action was taken and peace was restored

Should we not compliment the people of Kashmir, the people of Calcutta and the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal for this speedy action? The results are there. There is no use saying that you should have done this and you should have done that. They took action and that action was fruitful.

Shri Hiren Mukerjee said there was collapse of the administration. It is not an administrative problem at all. Suppose there were lapses and some collapse for a day or two, it is a problem which has to be dealt with on its merits. This particular problem is not a problem of administration. The administration can be bettered and can be improved. I agree with Shri Dwivedy: it is a political problem. The communal problem itself is a political problem. England, wherever it went, sowed two seeds: one seed was the seed of democracy and the other seed was the seed of discord. Take the whole map of the

[Shri Bakar Ali Mirza]

world. wherever you go—Somalia, Cyprus, Egypt, Sudan, whole of Arabia, Zanzibar everywhere—that was their political purpose; that was their political end. It is a political problem. The very fact that we accepted Pakistan and Hindustan as two countries is itself a political problem. We have been caught in the game that the British played. So, it is a political problem. How to solve this?

People say you must take firm action. Firm action means either breaking diplomatic relations or going to war. These are the firm actions known in the political field. By going to war, you may make the country feel that you are firm, but you are not going to achieve your end, because war does not solve any problem. So, we have to seek some other remedy. Some people have suggested other ways like going to the UN. The UN is a good organisation with good intentions, but today it is a weak organisation. It is under the influence of the big powers. The danger with the UN is that while small problems may be solved, in the case of problems like these that it cannot solve, it keeps that problem alive. That is the danger of taking a question to the UN. Take Kashmir. For 16 years it is going on till today, because the UN was not strong enough to differ from the directions of the great powers and to say that Pakistan was the aggressor. The result is that they keep on playing about resolutions and meetings and for 16 years it has been hanging fire So, taking any problem to the UN means not the solution of the problem, but keeping alive that problem. So, UN also is out of the question.

What remains? Some say, exchange of population. What do they mean? There are today 10 million Hindus in Pakistan and 50 million Muslims in this country. Are you going to exchange at the ratio of 5 : 1? Pakistan may not accept the odds. Even if it is 1 : 1, who is to make the selection? Shall we go to the UPSC or before the Home Ministry to find out whom you will select? Or, shall we go to Mr. Nanda's new Vigilance Commission, so that only Pakistan's spies are sent back. So, even from the matter of pure arithmetic, it is not feasible. It is not only that. It is much more than that. This experiment has been tried before. After the First World War, the Greeks and Turks exchanged population. A small territory was involved and the number of people also was small. The distances were not very great. In spite of that, it was the verdict of history that it was great mistake and both sides suffered. Here we are dealing with not thousands or lakhs but millions Moving millions from one country to another itself is a very costly and strenuous process.

Apart from that, when you ask me to go to Pakistan in place af somebody from there to take my place, I ask you, what is your concept of India? Do you think India is just a territory with four international border stones and that area is India? India means something more than that. India is the only country in the world where freedom of mind and freedom of worship has been allowed from time immemorial. There is no doubt about it.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Bareilly): In British regime also it was there.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: I am talking of large sweeps of history; I am not talking of small incidents here and there. When the Moplas—the Muslims of Malabar—came to the south, they did not come with armies of Moghuls. When the Zoroastrians came and settled down in Bombay, they took refuge from persecution outside. The Syrian Christians came and settled here. The disciple of Christ himself came and was welcomed. Syrian Christians came here when there was not a single Christian in the Vatican. This is the history of India. This is the India to which I belong. If this is the India you have in mind, you have to see what effect

the acceptance of this proposal itself has on your mind.

Today you might have a case against Muslims and you might send us away. Tomorrow you may think of the Christians, then Parsis and so on, because your mind is conditioned that way and you think in those terms. Luckily today we do not think in those terms. Today I can stand and say that I belong to this country and I am citizen of India; even 10,000 people in any country anywhere in the world are not good enough to exchange place with me, whether it is Pakistan or United States. That is the stand I take. So, this talk about exchange of population is futile, childish and mischievous.

What remains is that you rehabilitate those people who come and give them all the comforts like employment, etc. Those who come from East Pakistan are living in conditions where the climate is humid. They are used to wet cultivation and we have not got enough land of that type to give them. So, rehabilitation of people from East Pakistan is much more difficult than the rehabilitation of people from Punjab. People forget that. I am not against rehabilitating them, but once you do that, do you solve the problem? The problem remains, because the moment you take out some people from there, you make weaker the people who are left behind. So, either you suck the whole lot in, as some people suggested and there are 10 lakhs there. Do you mean to say that thousands should be killed before you give protection? That is an impossible position. When Mahatmaji was dealing with this struggle, he sent young girls in areas of great danger. They went, worked there and came back. Suppose you close the borders of India and Pakistan. What will happen? There will be atrocity, murder and all that. They will stand and fight back just as a cat fights a bull dog. So, if you want to help really, you must create confidence in the peoples themselves. That is the only way as far as I can think, though this might look a very hard thing to say. Why is Pakistan doing all this conspiracy to bring about riots and so on? It is because Pakistan does not feel secure and it wants this diversion. In this particular instance, they wanted to take the case of Kashmir to the U.N. Also, one has to remember that in East Pakistan there is a movement for autonomy. The Bengal Press, the Press of East Bengal has been condemning this approach, this action. The people from West Punjab and Uttar Pradesh who have come down and settled there wanted to oust the people of Khulna. This is a sort of Nazification process. In this, if the people get moral support from here and they put up a fight, they might find a movement for provincial autonomy. After all, there is the whole world and there is, what is called, a conscience. The finer feeling is not confined to any country. I am sure, if not today, tomorrow or the day after, the people from Pakistan itself will rise against these atrocities, against this injustice. Otherwise, Sir, the whole world would have been a different picture.

15.41 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Shri P. R. Chakraverti (Dhanbad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to the hon. Home Minister for giving a short account of the happenings in West Bengal and also in East Pakistan. As a student of history, Professor Mukerjee has posed some questions before this House. But as one who has spent 45 years in East Pakistan, in Bengal before it was partitioned, and also as one who claims to know the technique of the people who have sponsored the vivisection of India and one who fought against the whole heirarchy of those fanatically communal minded people, I am giving a little account of the history. As a student myself, also, of history, I may tell that this history is written by the pen dipped in the blood of my own men who fought against British imperialism and against Muslim communalism from 1906. When Lord Curzon said that the Bengal partition was a settled

[Shri P. R. Chakraverti]

fact, it was my people in Dacca, who took up the challenge and partition was annulled We did it at the cost of the lives of millions of people, who are today knocking at the doors of India. I appeal to the Minister of External Affairs not to make them stand at the frontiers of India on the technical plea of satisfying the migration certificate rules. Now Rajshahi is closed. Rajshahi is the centre of North Bengal. Dacca is another centre. There are 19 districts of the united Bengal that are today in East Pakistan. How can a man move from Rajshahi to Dacca when the report goes that more than 10,000 people have been slaughtered? It is a regime where the people are denude of all sense of responsibility and moral obligation. They are seized with thirst for blood and which does not exhaust itself by killing the people from era to era. It has been going on for so many years. This is the challenge that is posed before us in the context of the picture which I shall place before you.

In 1946, Sir, when I came out of the prison I met the ministers from Dacca. I was put in the prison because I opposed the Muslim communalism. I was the elected leader of the Hindus and Muslim students in the university. I was the elected member in the university court for 12 years. When I came back I met the five ministers in Dacca, who were saddled in office including the Prime Minister, who is still alive today, Mr. Nazimuddin. From Dacca to Narayanganj it is only 11 miles. There is a village called Siddiganj where 21,000 weavers lived of which 15,000 were Muslims and 6,000 were Hindus. It is these weavers who have been famous and adept in the skill of producing *'muslin'*, the finest fabric in the world. They produced Jamdani saries which is still very popular in West Bengal. When I went to the village with the Secretary of the Muslim League, Mr. Shamsuddin, I told him that when the Muslim League Ministry was saddled in office, in 1943, people died. 70 per cent of the population of East Bengal happened to be Muslims. Out of 21,000 people, only 6000 were alive, when I reached the place. This is the story of the people who were in power and did not care for their own brethern. It is not only fanatical communalism, it is something more.

When my young brothers, the Muslim students of East Pakistan asked for Bengali to be the State language of East Pakistan, these very people shot at them. In the Dacca university the boys were killed and it was the dead bodies of these boys that forced the issue. Bengali today happens to be the State language in East Pakistan.

In this context Pakistan wanted vivisection of the country and we accepted it. When we accepted it we were assured of certain essential virtues of life, which were held sacrosanct in the vocabulary of civilised parlance. But does this give any semblance of the attitude which was expected of them?

As I told on another occasion, Hindus are used as perpetual hostages, as meat for the sandwitch, for the repast of the majority community. The people in power are fanatically seized with the sense of unsatiated greed for blood. Those people always try to divert the psychology of the people of East Pakistan, both Muslims and Hindus, in another direction, so that they can trample the democratic elements under their feet. Therefore, young boys of the universities are throwing the challenge every day and are getting themselves shot.

So, sir, it is a very big melady and that malady has crept into the body politic of East Pakistan where you cannot expect an iota of justice being assured to the minority community. The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact was signed in 1950. I know that the Pact guaranteed protection to the minority Community on an equal basis. But who is going to make them to work upto it. Who will force them to be-

have well. When we accept something, when we behave like good citizens and behave well, that is a behaviourial pattern which we accept in our life. We fight for freedom and we want to grow in freedom. We want to work for democracy and socialism. But that is denied there. It is a form of Nazism. We have heard of so many things I had the occasion of visiting the whole of Germany after the war. I heard about the ghettos and gas chambers. People had to resort to so many things there to kill the innocent jews. I asked: "How is it possible that Germany which has produced the best scientists and philosophers in the world should submit themselves to this form of demoniac revelry which only ends itself in carnages and slaughters?" Sir, the recent happenings in East Pakistan have been described as riots. It is not riots, I have passed through all riots from 1906 to 1946. I have spent my life through them. It is genocide, it is carnage, it is slaughter. When these descriptions are given, when something percolates through sisters of mine who had to efface vermillion from their foreheads, when these sisters tell their tales of agony, it is the agnoy of the slaughter that is presented before India. The papers like the *Anand Bazar Patrika*, the *Jugantar*, *Basumati*, *Hindustan Standard*, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and others give account of stories related to them by our sisters, who have become widows and also given up vermillion to cover the fact that they are Hindu ladies. It is only a minor part of the story which is actually given. Therefore, today, if we have to evaluate this situation, as my hon. friend Shri Bhattacharyya was saying, I know that there is no other way for them except to get themselves killed and slaughtered. I shall now read out to you the assurance given by the Congress President in unmistakable terms, the assurance which cannot be deleted from the history of India. A definite assurance was given to us, when we came here—I was one of them—by Acharya Kripalani, the then Congress President, who happens to be in the Opposition side now. I had taken it up with the Prime Minister also so many times. Acharya Kripalani, in his review before the Working Committee said:

> "We cannot absolve ourselves from our responsibility towards the minorities in Pakistan. They were part of our nation as much as we are. They suffered and fought as our comrades in the struggle for freedom. They believed fervently in the Congress ideals of a united India, as we did.
>
> It is not they but we, who voted for the acceptance of the June 3 Plan, which has deprived them of the fruits of freedom. As loyal Congressmen, they accepted our decision in good faith. They believed in our assurance that their rights in Pakistan would be adequately safeguarded.
>
> How can we disown responsibility towards them today? How can we allow them to be treated as worse than pariahs in Pakistan? How dare we deny or grudge them shelter when they come to us, fleeing from terror worse than death?"

This is the statement of the President of the Indian National Congress.

When we from East Pakistan came here, we were told to stick to the place where we rightly belonged. We were fighters for freedom. We have spent our whole life in the struggle for freedom against British Imperialism and Muslim communalism, a bitter communalism; from 1906 to 1911, the fight went on. Then King George V came here and he declared that the demand of Bengalis had to be accepted. Again, from 1911 to 1947, we had to continue our fight against this communalism and at the same time we fought against British imperialism also.

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So many people say today that these people are refugees. I represented in the Delhi State Assembly, the biggest colony of West Pakistan Displaced Persons in Delhi, namely, Rajendranagar, a colony of 60,000 people. As I know the agonies and feelings of these people I became their representative and their spokesman in this very place when Shri Mehr Chand Khanna was the adviser to Government. I represented the case of the people from NWF Province to Shri Mehr Chand Khanna and Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, because I shared their agonies and feelings. They are not refugees but our own brethren. It is a responsibility which we cannot disown. Let us not shirk our responsibility. Let us understand the problem of these people who are today seeking shelter in India because they have had enough of the unsavoury experience in Pakistan. They have lived so many years there. They have relied on the assurance unmistakably given out by the Congress President. Naturally, if today after so many years of fight and struggle, they seek shelter and come to the frontiers of India, I would appeal through you, Sir, to the Minister, please do not stand on technicalities and make them wait at the doors for getting a little shelter because they are our own men, our own kith and kin. It is they who fought for our freedom, it is they who strengthened our Congress organisation, it is because of their fight that ultimately India became free. If India has become free, it is because of their contribution. So, if they come here today seeking shelter, we should not from your lofty positions preach homilies, as we are accustomed to do. That sermon does not carry any meaning to them.

I am sure I am sharing the feelings of all the members of this House when I say that it is not a party question; it is a question of humanity; it is a question of culture; it is a question of civilisation; it is a question of the ethical values which we have been preaching all throughout and which we are trying to practise in our daily life. From that point of view, I appeal to all members to understand the agony of those people and I know, each of them shares the feelings of mine.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedi: When is the Minister replying?

Mr. Speaker: Ordinarily, I should have called him now, but I find that there are two or three Members that I should call. So, I will ask the Minister to reply tomorrow.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri (Berhampur): Mr. Speaker, we have heard from all sides of the House about the horrible things that happened in East Pakistan during last month. Some hon. Members from the other side expressed surprise why there should be censure of the Government for their failings; after all, when certain repercussions took place in this country and communal peace was disturbed in Calcutta and adjoining areas, our Government took the sternest possible measures to put all these disturbances down. But it needs to be pointed out that censure is called for, not for the failure to do what ought to have been done after the disturbances broke out in Calcutta and adjoining areas but censure is due because our Government complacently kept its eyes shut to things that were happening in Pakistan, things that were brewing in Kashmir and the links that those things had with certain agencies in Pakistan. I would only read out to you what the President of Pakistan himself said the other day in a broadcast speech to his countrymen. In that broadcast, an authorised version of which was circulated by Pakistan Information Service, he relates the events in January:—

> "I speak to you" (he speaks to his countrymen) "when our hearts are heavy and our feelings hurt over the tragic events of the past month. These events were pre-

ceded by more than a year of acute anxiety for us over the massive arms build-up in India on the pretext of the Chinese threat, which nobody believes in now."

Then he goes on to say:

"The systematic eviction of Indian Muslims from Assam and Tripura....has been a running sore in Pakistan's side, poisoning the already strained relations between the two countries."

Then he comes to Kashmir:

"The announcement that India was planning to absorb the State of Jammu and Kashmir, in disregard of international obligations came as a further shock to all of us. That it was the last straw which broke the back of the long-suffering people of Jammu and Kashmir is proved by the upheaval which shock the State during the last month. It was no doubt set in motion by mysterious theft of the holy relic from the Hazratbal shrine which injured the religious susceptibilities, not only of the Muslims of Occupied Kasmir but also of Pakistan."

Just look at the way he puts it. There was an announcement from India that India was planning to absorb the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Then the theft takes place, which injures the religious suspectibilities, not only of the Muslims of Occupied Kashmir but also of Pakistan. Then he goes on to say.

"The happenings in Kashmir have moved the heart of our people throughout the country. This is shown by the fact, among others, that in far off Khulna in East Pakistan there was a burst of public disorder because the people's emotions had the better of their reason."

This is how Khulna is linked up with Kashmir and India's decision to integrate Jammu and Kashmir with India.

Any Government which has a Foreign Office and an efficient intelligent service should have known that Pakistan was up to some mischief. Also, they ought to have known that in order to stir up communal troubles Pakistan would like to select some suspectible place in East Pakistan because there is no minority problem left so far as West Pakistan is concerned.

16.00 hrs.

I would also like you to ponder upon why Khulna was selected. Because Khulna was nearer to Calcutta and any communal trouble there was bound to produce reprcussions in Calcutta. Khulna is adjacent to Calcutta, almost on the borders of West Bengal. They knew it very well. It was a cool and calculated move. Then the rest of the unfortunate happenings that we have been discussing for the last two days took place in inevitable sequence.

Now we are confronted with the question: What are we to do? I have already said that so far as West Pakistan or Punjab is concerned, there is no minerity problem. The minority problem in Pakistan is really the minority problem of East Pakistan. We have also to take note of the fact that in East Pakistan the present Government of Field Marshal Ayub Khan is extremely unpopular. As a matter of fact, a democratic upsurge is already taking shape there. So, they were doubly interested in fomenting some communal trouble there to kill two birds with one stone; that is, firstly, to see that the popular democratic movement in East Pakistan may be suppressed or sewerved to communal lines and submerged in a communal movement and, secondly, also to provoke communal troubles in West Bengal as a repercussion so that they might utilise the whole thing for their diplomatic purpose in their game of power politics over Kashmir in UNO and elsewhere. The timing of their taking the Kashmir case to the UNO for re-opening it is also to be noted.

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All these things were happening and our Government simply slept over them. The first incidents took place in Khulna on the 3rd. From the 3rd to the 6th no precautionary measures were at all taken. Government took it as if everything was going on normally. The Police force was not deployed. The Army was not alerted. The States were not alerted. That is how unfortunate incidents could take place. I do not say that very bad incidents did not take place in Calcutta and round-about that city; but Government were not at all awake to the seriousness of the situation and were not alive to the schemings of Pakistan behind all these things.

I need not go into the horrible details of the things that happened in Pakistan and that are still happening. They have not died down. The main problem with which we are confronted today is the problem of rescuing a marooned and trapped minority. I have here in my hands a letter sent out from Pakistan. If anybody wants to see it, he can. Here I have got the stamped envelope. Unfortunately the letter is written in Bengali but I am giving the translation. In this letter this poor fellow has written to his relation and has said:—

> "Do not worry about us. Our life is like a drop of water on a lotus leaf. Leave us to the mercy of God. The Bengali Muslims on both sides of the rivers are doing us much good. They are giving us shelter. If they had not done this, we would have been destroyed. Already the village of Chenga Bunia Kandi has been demolished and burnt down to ashes. 40 to 50 people have been killed."

Then, he gives some details and makes an appeal. It is the appeal that I want to put before you and before the hon. Home Minister and other hon. Ministers who are sitting there. He says:—

> "You do one thing".

He does not know about the intricacies of our governmental organisation. He has heard of Shri P. C. Sen who is the Chief Minister of West Bengal. He says:—

> "By whatever means you can get an interview with Shri P. C. Sen and tell him that people of these villages.....".

He mentions about 50 villages.

> "....do not want any monetary help or any rehabilitation help from the Government of India. All that they want is to take shlter in India. If God helps us then we will run away to India and be saved there. At least do this thing. Tell Shri P. C. Sen somehow or other to allow us to cross the border."

That is the plaintive appeal that is coming to us from there and the tragedy of the thing is that in spite of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact, in spite of assurances that we have given and that the Pakistan Government have given from time to time, in spite of everything they are not allowed to come even if they have valid migration certificates and travel papers. As late as the 10th February it has been reported in the *Statesman* that Shri P. C. Sen felt impelled to write a letter to the East Pakistan Government requesting them to take steps to step harassment of intending migrants from East Pakistan to India. Shri Chatterjee related how people who were coming away and wanted to cross the border were taken down from the train and taken to refugee camps under armed guard. They will not be allowed to come away.

It is not a question of our opening the border. I am coming to that question later on. Now it is a question of pressing upon the Pakistan Government that those people who want to come away must be allowed to come freely under the terms of the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement. Many hon. Members have referred to the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement. I ask the Govern-

ment and every hon. Member of Parliament in all seriousness, "Has this pact any validity or not?" Some hon. Members here tell us that if Pakistan does not honour the pact, what can we do—If they can break it unilaterally, I ask the Government in all seriousness. "Can you not tear up this pact and invoke all international sanctions, whatever sanctions you are capable of invoking. Forget whether they are Hindus, Christains or Tribals; just think of them as human beings. Can you not do something to rescue those human beings from the tragic fate in which they find themselves? I ask the Government in all seriousness as to how it happens that every time Pakistan can go, whether it is in 1948 or in 1950, to the United Nations and accuse us of genocide. And our representative there takes the dictionary meaning of genocide and pleads weakly that no genocide has taken place in India! We all know that no genocide has taken place. But why can you not hold up the Pakistan Government and tell them, "Here is a Pact which your Prime Minister, the Head of your Government, signed with our Prime Minister; you undertook certain responsibilities and you are not fulfilling those responsibilities." Can we not inform them that we will abrogate this Pact if the terms of this Pact cannot be honoured? Can we not give them a time limit and then ourselves take the matter to the United Nations? Even if there were no Nehru-Liaquat Pact, there is the United Nations Charter; there is the question of upholding the human rights of minorities everywhere. We find often that our Government pleads for the rights of other minorities and other oppressed people before the UNO. But in East Pakistan there they are our blood relations and for them we cannot say anything! We cannot take their case to the UNO! So, my specific proposal is this. Notify to the Pakistan Government that the Nehru-Liaquat Pact will be abrogated if its terms solemnly agreed to by the Prime Minister of Pakistan along with our Prime Minister are not honoured. They have already unilaterally abrogated the terms of the Pact. Our President made a joint appeal to the respective peoples of both the countries, but that was refused. The hon. Home Minister appealed that the Home Ministers of both the countries and the respective State Chief Ministers should tour the affected areas. That appeal was also turned down. That request was also in consonance with the terms of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Agreement What more do you want Pakistan to do, to tell you that the Pact has been abrogated so far as they are concerned? You formally notify them and after notifying that if you find them irresponsive, you take the question of East Pakistan menorities to the United Nations. I hope this has been deposited with the United Nations, as all international Pacts of member nations are usually deposited. We can then take the question of this Pact to the United Nations and, if not, we can take up the question of the rights of minorities in East Pakistan under the United Nations Charter and mobilise international public opinion to see that Pakistan is forced to give due respect to the rights of the minorities.

I must ask the hon. Home Minister very categorically about the so-called liberalisation or relaxation that they have effected to the migration rules that they will issue migration certificates only to girls of marriageable age, unattached women and orphans who may have no sponsors in India, what about the married women? Have you not received reports of married women having been abducted? Have you not received reports that scores of them have been forcibly converted and married? You just want us to be satisfied with this mere pittance that only girls of marriageable age and unattached women would be given migration certificates.

What about the whole of north Bengal? Have you forgotten that only a year back serious disturbances took place in Rajshahi and thousands of families have applied for migration certificates but you have not allowed them to have those documents? It know of several cases where even

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visas were not allowed to Hindus having Pakistan passports so that they can come here. Perhaps, there was the fear in the mind of the Government that they might surrender the passports and remain here. These things must stop. I must state very categorically on behalf of the Bengali people that these things have got to be stopped. You must allow all people to come here who want to come away——this is the immediate short-range problem. You must allow them to come here whether they have got valid migration certificate or not because you have not made arrangements whereby everybody who wants to come away can get the migration certificate. The people who cross the border and take shelter in India must be given refugee certificates or migration certificates whatever it is. For God's sake, you allow them to come away and live here.

I would end by saying that if you cannot do this——I am not a very excitable man, then you must bear it in mind . . . .

Mr. Speaker: I did not interfere because the hon. Member was speaking with emotion. But all through he has been addressing the Minister.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: I am sorry. I would appeal to the Home Minister, through you Sir, that if this thing is not done, if they are not allowed to come away——all people who want to come away——and if the present stalemate is allowed to continue, do not be lulled into the idea that you can preserve peace in this Country. Whatever we may say, whatever our parties may say, at least the Home Minister will concede this much that all the political parties in Calcutta from the Communist Party up to the Jan Sangh combined with him and joined with him in maintaining peace. There was the All-Parties Peace Committee which he sponsored and initiated, but in spite of our efforts, peace will not be maintained if people's emotions are allowed to be roused in this fashion and if Government are found to be weak and to be dithering and to be indecisive in the face of the insults and in the face of the horrible happening taking place against our people in Pakistan.

Shri Abdul Ghani Goni (Nominated——Jammu and Kashmir): It is very unfortunate that at this age when the world is busy with the scientific races, we in this sub-continent of India and Pakistan are discussing about communal riots, and since yesterday an atmosphere is being created here in favour of one thing or the other and instances are quoted from the one side or the other. The question is what the basis is for all these things. Even after seventeen years of our Independence we are still at an age which is far behind even 1947. Is it due to our backwardness or is it due to the compromise with the evil which we made in 1947, when we accepted the division of the country. I, for one, sincerely believe that this is all due to the compromise with the evil which we made. Although I believe that there should be no compromise with evil, yet in politics, we compromised with an evil and accepted the division of this country and also bowed down before the two-nation theory as propounded by Jinnah Saheb at that time.

I did not want to speak in this debate but I am speaking today because Kashmir has been brought in unfortunately. The sacred relic which has been the subject-matter of all this is also being mentioned here.

During the last seventeen years, in spite of our efforts to build our national character, we are still dividing ourselves into group politics. It is not only a case of quarrels between Hindus and Muslims, but we are also quarrelling on the language issue, on what language or what script we should use and so on. These smaller issues may be vital but only at a particular age and not now. In spite of

that, we are still in that era today where we are dividing ourselves. There are various communities, various religious groups and so on in other countries also, but we never hear of any communal riots there. It is only here that we hear of communal riots. There may be riots of other types in other countries, but not communal riots. Today, we are talking about East Pakistan incidents, but even in West Pakistan, where there are no Hindus and there are no minorities, there were riots. So, it seems to be a character in the sub-continent, and that has to be changed and developed in a better way. This seems to be a very basic thing so far as we in India and in this sub-continent are concerned, because, I may tell you that mentally, though we have accepted the division of the country, still we do not sometimes believe that India is divided. So, basically, we have to inculcate the spirit of nationalism in our minds first, and we should be mentally prepared for it.

Fortunately or unfortunately, I was in Calcutta during the last communal disturbances. On the 12th of last month I was there, and I had seen there something, and if I were to speak about that in my place or somewhere else, there would again be exploitation of the situation. If I quoted a letter from one place to the other, again, there would be exploitation. So, let us see that the forces working behind this communal tension are curbed from the very beginning itself.

Even before 1947, when the Congress was saying that 'we are not going to accept the division of India', Mahatma Gandhi said, 'I see some light from Kashmir'. So in spite of all the attacks from Pakistan, we stood by those aspirations which our leaders had expressed sometime back. History shows that in all the incidents in Kashmir, communal tension has never been allowed to raise its head in the form of killing or genocide or arson. We in India are proud of that. You can blame Pakistan because it is based on the communal theory. But in India when we say that we are a secular people, we do not believe in this hanky-panky. We saw riots in Jabalpur, riots in Kanpur, Aligarh and so many places. I tell you that in Kashmir, the majority community, the Muslims——minority in India——who constitute 90 per cent of the population, we have never allowed that. I say India's secularism has been tested in Kashmir. Pakistan wants to demolish it. Pakistan's intentions are to create trouble there for that purpose.

Recently when I went to Kashmir——I will not refer to the details of the incident which was the subject matter of a question this morning because the Home Minister has said that the case is under investigation——I heard stories to the effect that it is a big conspiracy, the removal of the sacred relic from the Hazratbal Shrine. It is not only one instance. Two days before, that, on the 25th of last month, the *ziarat* of the Pir Saheb of Kistwar was burnt down. Then the sacred relic was stolen from the Hazratbal shrine. Then after two days, two *murtis* were removed from a temple in Jammu.

So it was a pre-planned thing, how to disrupt communal harmony in Kashmir, how to exploit it in the international field. Pakistan wants to exploit Kashmir, because Kashmir is a test for India, because Kashmir is a test for the secularism of India. They want to demolish that concept of which we are very proud.

Papers reveal how even in the Middle East countries we are being honoured. India is honoured for holding on to this concept in those so-called Islamic countries.

So this was a conspiracy of the Pakistan elements, both internally and from outside. They wanted to demolish this theory, since 1947. But with the strong organisation of the National Conference, they could not face us politically, they could not face us economically, they could not face us socially. So they adopted these religious tactics. This was the last tactic

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they wanted to adopt, exploiting the situation created by the removal of the sacred relic. But I am proud to say that the Kashmir people, in spite of all the provocations, in spite of all the propaganda from Radio Pakistan, in spite of the press reports——we see these in the *Dawn* and *Pakistan Times* which we read here in the Parliament Library——saying that India's move is to annihilate Muslims in Kashmir——President Ayub Khan said this from Rawalpindi or Karachi. I read it in *Dawn*——in spite of all these, we have remained steadfast in our ideals.

But I am very doubtful about our own Government in India. The Home Minister will excuse me if I say that we had not known our mind so far. It is only now, with Shri Chagla representing our case, that we have taken a determined stand. Till now, we had expressed doubt about it. I had a chance to travel with an embassy officer in Washington. I asked him, what is the reaction there on this issue. He said, 'We do not know your mind'. I asked him: "What do you mean?" He said: "You are saying one thing in the morning, and another thing in the evening." So, I would request the Government to be firm, and to say, as Shri Chagla has put it, nothing doing about Kashmir. Kashmir is an integral part of India constitutionally, and you are talking *ultra vires* if you say it is not, having accepted it as such. The Constitution says that India shall be a union of States, and in the First Schedule where the names of the States are given, Jammu and Kashmir is the last, irrespective of article 370. This morning there was a question on integration. What is integration? Article 370 is a provisional article; articles 371 and 371A give a little of provincial autonomy to certain areas, but the basic question here is accession. I know something of law also, and I say, article 370 or not, Kashmir is an integral part of India.

What is integration? I do not understand what it means. Article 370 is a transitory provision. Remove this today, or keep it there, but you cannot say that Kashmir is not completely integrated. Because article 370 is there you cannot say there is not complete integration, and after article 370 is removed, you cannot say you are then fully integrated, because it is already integrated and is a part of India constitutionally, and also with the sanction of the people there.

I am very proud really that the Centre has come to our aid every time, though there are some undesirable elements there. It is their duty. What for is the Centre there? It is their duty to come to our aid. Today some friends say that if the Centre had not gone to the help of Kashmir, the condition would have been worse there. When there is trouble in Bengal, U.P., Punjab or any place in India, the Centre is there to help. Theirs is the total responsibility. The State Governments are responsible only for the administration of the States, but the Centre is responsible for the administration of the whole country.

So, I say these things will not pay us. Pakistan should be told straightaway: nothing doing, as Shri Chagla has said. A few days back, our party paid him tributes, and as a Kashmiri and an Indian also, I must pay my tributes to him. But from a report of yesterday I find that they are still ready to have bilateral talks and on Kashmir also. Why Kashmir? I would suggest that we should think in terms of humanity as Shri Chakraverti said. We should think of ourselves as Indian nationals and human beings. If a girl in my area is harassed, I should feel she is my daughter or my sister. Similarly, if a girl is molested somewhere else, we should think she is our daughter, an Indian daughter. Only then we can raise ourselves. We have a glorious past of which we are very proud, and we claim to be the leaders of the backward nations. If at all we want to survive, renew those past glories, we have to behave properly. I would request the Government, particularly

the Home Minister, that he should be very strong, he should be a strong man. Do not try to please anybody, the country is behind you. So, you must behave as a strong man. And do not allow such things in India at least; they may happen in Pakistan, but in India they should not be allowed, and we should be proud of it.

I lastly pay my tribute to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri who came as the Centre's representative to Kashmir. He behaved very nicely because he thinks that India is Kashmir and Kashmir is India.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि न सरकार की तरफ से और न हमारे विरोधी दल के लोगों की तरफ से कोई जड़ की बात हुई । दो छोटी नीतियों को छोड़ कर कोई बुनियादी नीतियों की बात नहीं हुई । वर्णन हुए वक्ती गुस्सा आया, थोथी अपीलें हुई, लेकिन ऐसा कोई रास्ता नहीं बताया गया कि जिस से हिन्दुस्तान पाकिस्तान और हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के मसले पर कोई नई रोशनी पड़ती । जिस तरह से गाय जुगाली करती रहती है, अगर उसी तरह से हम भी जुगाली करते रह गए तो अपने देश का कोई भी मसला हल नहीं कर पायेंगे ।

कुछ चालाकी रही हो या शायद कुछ नादानी रही हो, क्योंकि श्री मुखर्जी ने श्री नन्दा की कांग्रेस में और श्री घोष की कांग्रेस में फर्क किया श्री नन्दा की कांग्रेस की तारीफ की और श्री घोष की कांग्रेस की निन्दा की और उससे यह नतीजा निकाला कि शायद मामला हल हो जायेगा । लेकिन मैं इन दोनों कांग्रेसों में कोई फर्क नहीं करता, और श्री मुखर्जी को बताना चाहता हूं कि अगर वह फर्क करते हैं तो कम से कम इस बात को समझ कर करें कि श्री नन्दा की कांग्रेस श्री घोष की कांग्रेस से कभी लड़ने वाली नहीं है, दोनों साथ साथ रहने वाली हैं । इसलिये दंगे होते रहेंगे और इन दंगों को पलटन से कुचला जाता भी रहेगा ।

इस लिये अगर हम बुनियादी बातों पर न सोचते रहेंगे तो नतीजा होगा कि कहीं उत्तराधिकार के सवाल पर अपनी राय रखने के कारण जो बुनियादी चीजें हैं उन पर हम अच्छा कदम न उठा पायेंगे । मेरी तबियत जरूर होती है आज यह कहने की जो मैंने यहां सुना उस पर कुछ होना चाहिये । कुछ करना चाहिये । लेकिन यह कहते हुए हिचक होती है । क्योंकि मैंने ठीक यही शब्द आज से १६-१७ बरस पहले, जो साहब प्रधान मंत्री हैं, उनको चटगांव से लिखे थे । (*Interruption*).

आपने क्या कहा कुछ समझ में नहीं आया । जो बोलें जरा जोर से बोलें, यों भिन्न भिन्न भिन्न भिन्न न बोलें ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आर्डर आर्डर । अगर कोई रास्ते में इंटरप्शन करे और वह बोलने वाले सदस्य तक न पहुंचे तो वह उसकी परवाह न कर के आगे चलता जाए ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं कोशिश तो करता हूं, लेकिन कुछ भिन्न भिनाहट पहुंच जाया करती है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कम से कम आप उसे इनवाइट तो न करें ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अध्यक्ष महोदय, तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि चटगांव की एक सभा में मेरे सामने ही एक आदमी मार डाला गया, सारे शहर में दंगा हुआ । मैंने देखा कि किस तरह से १० सैकड़ा या १५ सैकड़ा अल्प संख्यक ८५ या ९० सैकड़ा लोगों के बीच में बिलकुल आतंक की जिन्दगी बसर कर रहे थे । और भी कुछ हो सकता था लेकिन हुआ नहीं । तब मैंने प्रधान मंत्री के पास एक सन्देश वाहक भेजा था । तब

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

उन्होंने उससे कहा था, तुम चटगांव वाले सरकारी हथियार लूट सकते हो, क्या तुम्हें मुझे बतलाना पड़ेगा कि क्या करना चाहिये । यह थोथा जवाब था । मेरा यह उस वक्त सोचना कि हमें कुछ न कुछ करना चाहिये थोथा था । इसको १७–१८ बरस हो गए । खैर मैं अपनी समझ से और अपनी ताकत के मुताबिक कुछ करता रहा हूं । लेकिन हम लोगों को सिर्फ वक्ती गुस्सा आता है । और मैं यहां कहना चाहता हूं कि जो कुछ कही गयी बातें हैं पाकिस्तान को ले कर या कलकत्ता को लेकर, अगर दस पन्द्रह दिन में फिर ठीक हो गया और मामला दब गया, तो फिर कहीं कोई गुस्सा नहीं रहेगा, इधर या उधर, और मामला ज्यों का त्यों चलता रहेगा ।

हम तो जब आग लगती है तब कुंआ खोदने निकलते हैं । तो मैं पहली बात तो यह कहना चाहता हूं कि पहले कुंआ खोदो और दूसरी बात यह कहना चाहता हूं कि ऐसी कोशिश करो कि आग लगे ही नहीं । लेकिन अफसोस होता है कि पिछले १५ बरस से हिन्दुस्तान की नाव ऐसे हाथों में पड़ी है जो उसे खेते ही नहीं । हिन्दुस्तान की नाव पाकिस्तान से आने वाली हवा के झोंके से इधर उधर डगमगा जाया करती है, या हिन्दुस्तान के कुछ गन्दे इलाकों से आने वाली हवा से डग मगा जाया करती है । लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की नाव को कोई खेने वाला नहीं है । कोई नीति नहीं है, नेतृत्व नहीं है, और बुनियादी तौर पर मैं यही कहना चाहता हूं कि इसी कारण पिछले १५ बरसों में हिन्दू मुसलमानों और हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान में गड़बड़ी होती रही है ।

किसने दंगे शुरू किए ? दंगों में क्या क्या हुआ ? इस पर ज्यादा वक्त खराब नहीं करना चाहिये । यह सही है कि गुस्सा आता है, खास तौर से जब छोटे बच्चे बच्चियों के किस्से सुनते हैं, लेकिन इससे कुछ नतीजा नहीं निकलता । मान लीजिए कि हम अपनी खुशी के लिये यह साबित कर दें कि सारे दंगे हमेशा पाकिस्तान की तरफ से होते हैं, मुसलमानों की तरफ से होते हैं, लेकिन पाकिस्तान यह साबित कर देगा कि दंगे हमेशा हिन्दुओं और हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ से होते हैं । तो इन बातों में पड़ने से कुछ मिलेगा नहीं । तो इस बहस में पड़ना बेकार है ।

हो सकता है कि हम यह भी साबित कर दें कि मुसलमान ज्यादा मारते हैं और हिन्दू कम मारते हैं, तो भी दुनिया इस बात को नहीं समझेगी । ऐसा करना तब ठीक भी हो सकता था जब आपका यह इरादा होता कि हम यह मसाला इसलिए इकट्ठा कर रहे हैं कि पाकिस्तान को चुनौती देंगे कि तुम अपने यहां की इस गन्दगी को खत्म करो नहीं तो हम कड़ा कदम उठायेंगे । और आप जानते हैं कि कड़ा कदम उठाने के क्या मानी होते हैं । अगर सरकार का ऐसा इरादा होता तब तो ये बातें कुछ वाजिब भी हो सकती थीं ।

मैंने सोचा कि यहां बहुत से शेर हैं । लेकिन शेर गुर्राता नहीं । जिस शेर के दांत और नाखून टूटे हुए होते हैं वही शेर गुर्राता है। शेर तो उबासी लेता है और जब उसे झपटना होता है तो झपट पड़ता है । तो ऐसी कुछ चीजों पर हम ध्यान दें तो अच्छा हो ।

मैं सोचता हूं कि शायद हिन्दुस्तान में अल्पसंख्यकों के मानवाधिकारों के लिये कुछ ज्यादा सावधानी बरती गयी है बनिस्बत पाकिस्तान के–मैं केवल तुलना कर रहा हूं । इसलिये सन् १९४६, १९४७ और १९४८ और १९४९ के हिस्से और बाद से आज तक के हिस्से के लिये सरकार को एक श्वेत पत्र निकालना चाहिये कि कितने आदमी उधर से इधर भगाए गए और कितने आदमी इधर से उधर भाग गए । यह सिर्फ यह दिखाने के लिये कि मानवाधिकारों के मामले में हिन्दुस्तान

और पाकिस्तान में क्या फर्क है। यह चीज इसे लिये न की जाय कि हम साबित करें कि हम अच्छे और पाकिस्तान बुरा, या इसलिये कि हम एक दूसरे पर आरोप प्रत्यारोप करें। लेकिन हम इस चीज को आने वाली नस्लों के लिये तैयार करें और खुदा नख्वास्ता अगर कोई गड़बड़ हो जाय तो इससे अपने पास एक बुनियाद भी रहेगी। तो इसलिये मैं एक श्वेत पत्र की सलाह देता हूं।

एक बात हम अच्छी तरह से मान कर चलें कि जब तक दंगों से लाभ होता रहेगा तब तक वे चलते रहेंगे। हम हजार अपीलें करें, वे अपीलें थोथी होंगी। पाकिस्तान को दंगों से लाभ हुआ है। इस बहाने पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर के सवाल को विश्वपंचायत—सुरक्षा परिषद्—में उठाया है और उसको इन दंगों को लेकर यह दिखाने में मदद मिली है कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का मामला अभी ताजा है, मरा नहीं है, अभी हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के इलाकों में गड़बड़ मची हुई है। तो इन दंगों की वजह से पाकिस्तान ने दुनिया भर को अपनी बात सुनाने के लिये अपनी तरफ खींचा। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि कहां तक उसकी बात मानी गयी। लेकिन अखबारों से पता चलता है कि बहुत से हिन्दुस्तान के आशिक लोगों ने पाकिस्तान की बात को कुछ न कुछ मान ही ली है।

तो जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान ने इन दंगों का इस्तेमाल किया और उन से फायदा उठाया और काश्मीर के मामले को उठाया, उसी तरह से मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं। हिन्दुस्तान के लोग भी जब पाकिस्तान से आने वाली खबरों से गुस्सा हो जाते हैं कि वहां इतने आदमी मार डाले गए, लोगों पर अत्याचार हो रहा है, औरतों को निकलने नहीं दिया जाता आदि, तो उनको गुस्सा आता है, और फिर वे गुस्से में और कुछ थोड़े बहुत लाभ की आशा में भी दंगे कर देते हैं कि ऐसा करने से वहां की वारदातों को कम किया जा सकेगा, और इस से हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार पर भी कुछ असर पड़ेगा और उसको कुछ न कुछ कदम उठाना होगा। इसलिये लोग सोचते हैं कि यहां भी कुछ कर दो। तो यह लाभ वाला मामला हिन्दू और मुसलमानों और हिन्दुस्तानियों और पाकिस्तानियों के दिमागों में घुसा हुआ है कि इन दंगों को भड़का कर कुछ राजनीतिक प्रश्नों को उठाने का मौका मिलेगा और उनका हल निकल सकेगा। तो इस लाभ की बातको खत्म करना होगा। लेकिन यह कैसे करें? एक बात बिल्कुल साफ है कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को चाहिये कि यहां ऐलान करें, दस पन्द्रह दिन सोच कर। यह तो मेरे मुंह से निकल गया, यह सरकार क्या सोचेगी। यह तो बिना पतवार की नाव है। अगर कोई अच्छी सरकार हो तो वह यह सोच सकती। पहली बात तो यह है कि पाकिस्तान में जो जनतन्त्रीय और लोकतन्त्रीय ताकतें हैं उनको मजबूत बनाया जाए। उनको जहां तक हो सके मदद दी जाय। मैं बुनियादी तौर पर चलना चाहता हूं। मैं यह पहले से कहे देता हूं कि जहां रोग उठा है वहीं मैं उसका इलाज चाहता हूं। मान लीजिए थोड़ी देर के लिये कि पूर्वी बंगाल में रोग उठा है, वहां के लोगों को तंग किया गया, मारा गया, कत्ल किया गया, उन पर बलात्कार किया गया। तो वहीं पर इसका इलाज ढूंढना चाहिये लोग कहेंगे कि तुम कैसी बातें कर रहे हो, वह तो दूसरा मुल्क है, वहां पर यह सब हो रहा है, वहां जा कर क्या करोगे? तो उसका जवाब सिर्फ इतना है कि अगर हमने वहां इलाज ढूंढने की कोशिश न की तो लाजिमी तौर पर हिन्दुस्तान में मुसलमानों के साथ इलाज ढूंढा जाएगा। इसलिये मेरा यह फर्ज हो जाता है कि मैं पूर्व बंगाल में इलाज ढूंढ।

क्योंकि मैं इस बात को भी मानता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान के एक भी मुसलमान का बालबांका होता है तो हम लोग जंगली

[डा० राममनोहर लोहिया]

हो जाते हैं और जंगली भी नहीं बहुत ही ख़राब किस्म के आदमी हो जाते हैं। मैं समझ नहीं पाता कि दंगे कैसे हो जाते हैं। कुछ दगों के बीच में मैं पड़ चका हूं। कई एक जगह पर 200, 200 और 400, 400 आदमियोंको मैंने देखा है। अध्यक्ष महोदय आप जानते ही हैं कि ऐसे मौके पर क्या हो जाया करता है। कुछ हो भी जाता, न जाने कैसे चीज बच बचा गई। 200, 200 और 400, 400 आदमी एक एक आदमी पर टूट पड़ते हैं। शेर का भी मामला नहीं है। गीदड़ का भी मामला नहीं है। मुझे खाली जंगल की चींटियों की याद आती है। लाखो, करोड़ों चींटियां जैसे एक आदमी पर एक साथ हमला कर के उसको ख़त्म कर दें। इसी तरीक़े से यह मजहब के दंगे हुआ करते हैं। इस में कोई बहादुरी नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान या पाकिस्तान में जहां कहीं मजहब के दंगे हुए हैं वह डरपोक और बदमाश लोगों ने किये हैं। कहीं किसी बहादुर ने यह मजहबी झगड़े नहीं किये हैं। बहादुर आदमी इस तरह से दंगे से जान नहीं लेगा। अगर उसे जान लेनी भी होगी तो बाक़ायदा दोनों तरफ़ टुकड़ियां बना कर लड़ाई करेगा। यह चीज हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को सीखनी चाहिए थी। सरकार को हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को यह चीज समझानी चाहिए। लेकिन 15 वर्ष में सरकार की तरफ़ से या हम लोगों की तरफ़ से कहीं नहीं किया गया। दो, चार हमारे जैसे आदमी छोड़ दीजिये क्योंकि उनकी बोली कहीं चल ही नहीं सकती है। यह कोशिश हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को सिखाने की नहीं की गई कि देखो एक भी मुसलमान का बालबांका होता है, एक भी मुसलमान का घर जलता है तो उस का नतीजा होता है कि तुम्हारा अपना मनुष्य धर्म ख़त्म हो जाता है। तुम किसी लायक़ नहीं रह जाते हो। फिर तुम चीन का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते, पाकिस्तान का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते। अगर यह बात हिन्दू के दिमाग में घुसानी है तो उस के साथ साथ दूसरी बात भी घुसानी पड़ेगी कि हमें पूर्वी बंगाल में या और कहीं जहां भी हिन्दुओं के ऊपर अत्याचार होता है, वहां उन को बचाने के लिए और पाकिस्तान की सरकार के खिलाफ़ कार्यवाही करने के लिए कोई न कोई अमली क़दम उठाना चाहिए। जब तक यह बात दोनों साथ नहीं चलती हैं, कुछ हो नहीं पाता है।

एक थोथी अपील मैं यहां नहीं करना चाहता। यहां पर अगर मैं चाहूं तो मनुष्यता और धर्म वगैरह की बातें कर सकता हूं। लेकिन यह राजनीति का सवाल है और इस तरीक़े से इस को सोचना है। इसलिए सब से पहली सलाह मैं यह देता हूं कि जो भी पूर्वी बंगाल में लोकतंत्रीय और जनतंत्रीय ताक़तें हों, बहुत हैं, वहां पर मुसलमानों के अन्दर काफ़ी एक ऊफान आया था और लोग कहते हैं कि शायद उसी ऊफान को दबाने के लिए यह दंगे वग़ैरह हुए थे, तो उन लोकतंत्रीय और जनतंत्रीय ताक़तों को हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार जितनी भी मदद दे सके, दे।

इस के अलावा अब मैं कहे देता हूं कि मैं यह समझता हूं कि दुनिया भर की सरकारें एक दूसरे के मामले में दखल देती हैं, चोरी छिपे, खुल कर नहीं। इसलिए यह एक ऐसा मामला है, जिसमें हम छिपी हुई दखल दे सकते हैं। हम दें, कौन दे, इस बात पर मैं नहीं जाना चाहता। छापामार लोग यह काम कर सकते हैं अब जरूरी नहीं है कि यह छापामार हिन्दू हों, मुसलमान छापामार हों। इन छापामारों के जरिए सरकारें एक दूसरे का तख्ता पलटने का कार्य किया करती हैं। मैं यह पसन्द करूंगा कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार या हिन्दुस्तान के लोग पूर्वी बंगाल के तख्ते को पलटने की कोशिश करें। लेकिन मैं एक भी हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमान पर किसी तरह का आघात नहीं पहुंचाना चाहता। पूर्वी बंगाल की सरकार का तख्ता पलटने की बात तो सोचो लेकिन जो सोचने का ढंग है वह दूसरा होना चाहिए। अब यह कैसे कर पायेंगे वह बात अलग है। मैं खाली एक

दिमाग़ की दिशा आप के सामने रखता हूं। इस तरीके से एक बंगाल की भी बात सोच सकते हैं।

एक बंगला भाषा की बात कही गई। मैं यह नहीं मानता कि बंगला संस्कृति कोई अलग से है। हिन्दुस्तान तबाह हो जाता है अगर इस तरह से मराठी, गुजराती या बंगला संस्कृति का खाली अलग अलग नाम लें। ख़ैर वह छोड़ दीजिये। बेचारे वक्ती लोग हैं जोकि इस तरह की भाषा बोलते हैं। लेकिन यह सही है कि एक बंगला भाषा से बड़ी भारी चीज मिली है जिसके कि आधार पर दोनों बंगालों की एकता की बात जो कभी पहले बहुत उठती थी, फिर से उठाई जा सकती है। आख़िर को अगर यह बात सही है और मैं मानता हूं कि किसी हद्द तक सही है कि पूर्वी बंगाल के लोगों ने इन दंगों में ज्यादा शिरकत नहीं की, शिरकत की दूसरे लोगों ने। वहां के आदमियों ने मदद भी की तो फिर एक बुनियाद पड़ जाती है इस बात के लिए।

यहां पर मैं एक बात श्रीमती रेणुका रे से साफ़ कह देना चाहता हूं। उन्होंने और ओरों ने भी अपने भाषण में यह कहा कि भारत सरकार को यह मसला संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के पास ले जाना चाहिए। सरकार दुनियां की पंचायत में जाकर इस बारे में अप ी फरियाद करे। मैं श्रीमती रेणुका से और उन दोस्तों से जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या अभी तक उन लोगों ने सीखा नहीं है कि दुनियां की पंचायत में जाकर क्या क्या नतीजे होते हैं? वहां पर कितनी लातें खानी पड़ती हैं? दुनिया की पंचायत में जाओ? दुनियां की पंचायत में लेकर जाओगे अपना मामला, उलटे चपत पड़गी कि तुम ने क्या किया। आख़िर को यह विदेशी नीति का सवाल है। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने विदेशी नीति को जिस तरीक़े से बर्बाद किया है, दुनियां की पंचायत में मेहरबानी करके कोई चीज लेकर मत जाओ।

अब इस तरीक़े से मैंने आप से जब विदेशी नीति की बात कही तो इस बात का सामना करना पड़ेगा कि हम हिन्दुस्तानी भी नहीं रह गये हैं, मनष्य तो ख़ैर हैं ही नहीं, हिन्दुस्तानी भी नहीं हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की विदेशी नीति नहीं चल रही है। मैं ब त धीमे लेकिन जोर के साथ एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर श्री अतुल्य घोष हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री होते तो हिन्द, पाकिस्तान....

एक सदस्य : खुदा न खास्ता, श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : जो मौजूदा प्रधान मंत्री हैं वह और भी ज्यादा गड़बड़ हैं, ख़ैर श्री अतुल्य घोष अगर हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री होते तो हिन्द, पाक मामला सुलझ जाता, यह मैं नहीं कहना चाहता, वह उलझा रहता, लेकिन उस उलझने की धुरी क्या होती? वह धुरी कश्मीर नहीं बल्कि पूर्वी बंगाल होती। आज श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू धान मंत्री हैं इसलिए हिन्द, पाक के झगड़े की धरी काश्मीर है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी प्रधान मंत्री हो गये तो शायद हिन्द, पाक का मसला विदेशी नीति का सबसे मुख्य मसला नहीं होगा, फिर लंका में हिन्दुस्तानियों की क्या दुर्गति है, यह मसला बड़ा हो जायगा। हम लोग हिन्दुस्तान वाले अभी तक कोई एक विदेशी नीति की धुरी नहीं बना पाये हैं। और यह सिर्फ कल के कांग्रेसियों के हंसने की बात नहीं है। मेरे जैसे १९४६ के कांग्रसियों को ऐसी बात देख कर कुछ गुस्सा आता है, कुछ दर्द होता है कि आख़िर हिन्दुस्तान गया कहां? यह व्यक्तिवादी और मनमौजी विदेशी नीति जो आज चल रही है जिसमें से यथार्थ ख़त्म हो चुका है, पदार्थ ख़त्म हो चुका है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जब तक किसी देश की विदेशी नीति यथार्थ के ऊपर नहीं खड़ी रहती है, जब तक उसके अन्दर दुनियां की वस्तुस्थिति की बातें नहीं रहती हैं तब तक विदेशी नीति में मनमौज आ जाती है, व्यक्तिवादता आ जाती है, और फिर, किसी

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

तरह का उससे अच्छा नतीजा नहीं निकला करता . .

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य का समय समाप्त हो रहा है ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं जल्दी जल्दी कह कर समाप्त करने की कोशिश कर रहा हूं । मुझे बस थोड़ा सा समय और दिया जाय ।

इसी तरीके से इस विदेशी नीति में एक और गड़बड़ हो गयी । स व्यक्तिवादिता और मनमौजिता के साथ साथ आदमी जहां पैदा होता है, जिस सूबे में पदा हुआ, जिस के जैसे पुरखे हुए, उस हिसाब से वह अलग अलग सोचता रह जाता है तो उस हालत में आखिर मामला आगे बढ़ कैसे सकता है ? आखिर वक्त आ गया है जब हम सब को कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि हम हिन्दुस्तानी बन कर कुछ देखें, सोचें ।

इस के साथ साथ विदेशी नीति में पैंतरेबाजी नहीं रह गयी है । बिलकुल कहीं कोई पैंतरेबाजी नहीं है । हालांकि मुझे यह याद है कि कुछ बड़े बड़े सरकारी लोगों ने कई बार बिस्मार्क वगैरह की बातों पर अचरज किया है, खुशी की है । बिस्मार्क में क्या खूबी थी ? वह पांच गेंदों को एक साथ उछालता रहता था जैसे कि एक जादूगर और बाजीगर गेंदें उछालता जाता है और उसकी कोई गेंद नहीं गिर पाती है, ठीक बिस्मार्क की भी वही हालत थी । उसकी कोई भी गेंद विदेशी पालिसी में नहीं गिर पाती थी । विदेशी नीति में उसकी पैंतरेबाजी कमाल की थी । अब हमारे यहां के अनाड़ी लोग बिस्मार्क की उस पैंतरेबाजी की नकल तो करना चाहते हैं, पांचों गेंदों को एक साथ उछालना चाहते हैं, कभी पाकिस्तान की गेंद उछाल रहे हैं, कभी चीन की गेंद उछाल रहे हैं, कभी कश्मीर की, कभी काहे की, लेकिन नतीजा क्या होता है कि वह सारी की सारी गेंदें जमीन पर जाकर गिर पड़ती हैं । यह सिर्फ एक अकलमंद आदमी और तरेबाज आदमी विदेश ीति कामयाबी के साथ चला सकता है । यह हमने अपनी विदेश ीति को कर क्या डाला ? हर जगह हम फंस गये हैं और जब कभी हम हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के मामले पर सोच विचार करें तो इस बात को न भूलें कि आज हिन्दुस्तान दो मोर्चों के युद्ध क खतरे के सामने खड़ा हुआ है । तनाव दोनों मोर्चों पर मौजूद है । चीन पर भी है और पाकिस्तान पर भी है । ोनों से लड़ाई करने की सम्भावना हो गयी है । इसलिए जब सदस्य लोग गुस्से या जोर से बोला करें तो यह याद रखें कि एक मोर्चे की लड़ाई का नतीजा भुगत ही चुके हैं, दोनों मोर्चों की लड़ाई में हजरत लोग कहां भागेंगे, कुछ अंदाज नहीं रह जायगा । इसलिए दोनों मोर्चों पर खतरा पैदा हो गया है । सोच करके बातें करना है । अगर सरकार समझती है और सदस्य लोग समझते हैं कि चीन का यह मसला हल कर के तब पाकिस्तान से निबट लेना चाहिए तो पहले चीन वाले मसले को हल कर लेना चाहिये और उसके बाद फिर पाकिस्तान से निबटा जाय । सरकार जैसे भी समझे पहले एक से निबट कर तब दूसरे से अपना मामला हल करे । लेकिन जैसा मैंने आपसे अर्ज किया दोनों मोर्चों के ऊपर लड़ाई की तैयारी या उसकी बात करना, मेरी समझ में यह पैंतरेबाजी की कमी है, क्योंकि शायद हिन्दुस्तान के नेता लोगों ने—इन नेतृत्व-विहीन नेता लोगों ने—सोचा कि जैसे भी हो, हम सब मामला ठीक-ठाक रखेंगे, हम इतने अक्लमंद हैं कि एक सांप को बीन बजा कर ठीक करेंगे, दूसरे को ीक करेंगे, सब सां ों को टीक-ठाक रखेंगे, जितने भी बिच्छू हैं सब को बीन बजा कर खुश रखेंगे । लेकिन नतीजा क्या हुआ है कि हमारे घर में आज सैकड़ों सांप और सैकड़ों बिच्छू अपने अपने बिलो में बन्द हैं । और शायद इसी प्रधान मंत्री के रहते रहते—शायद इन के जाने के

बाद जो कोई आयेगा—ये सैकड़ों सांप और बिच्छु एक साथ हमारे मुल्क पर हमला करेंगे और तब पता नहीं क्या होगा और तब इतिहास कहेगा कि विदेशी नीति को कितना बिगाड़ कर रखा गया।

फिर उसी के साथ साथ आप एक अमली बात पर ध्यान दें और वह है सूचना के बारे में । मैं आज सुबह से देख रहा हूं कि यहां हम जो सदस्य बैठे हुए हैं, उन के अन्दर भी इत्तिला की बिल्कुल ग़ैर-बराबरी है । जिन लोगों ने बंगाली लिपि के अख़बार पढ़े हैं, उन के दिमाग़ में सिर्फ़ एक बात का असर है कि पाकिस्तान ने लोगों को तबाह किया लेकिन जिन लोगों ने सिर्फ उर्दू लिपि के अख़बार पढ़े हैं, उन के दिमाग़ में यह असर है कि नहीं नहीं, वहां कुछ नहीं हुआ, ज्यादा नहीं हुआ, हुआ होगा, तो थोड़ा बहुत हुआ होगा और यहां तो बहुत जबर्दस्त तबाही हो गई है । जो थोड़े बहुत अख़बारों को मैंने पढ़ा है, दोनों को, उर्दू लिपि वाले मैं ज़रा मुश्किल से पढ़ पाता हूं, लेकिन सुन लिया करता हूं—मैं आप को साफ़ बताना चाहता हूं कि उन की वजह से, यहां के रहने वालों को तो जाने दीजिए, लोक सभा में जो ५०८ आदमी बैठे हुए हैं, उन के दिमाग़ में इस तरह की टूट पैदा हो जाती है कि एक आदमी यहां बैठा हुआ सोचता है कि पाकिस्तान ने कोई बड़ा पाप नहीं किया है और दूसरा आदमी सोचता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने कुछ नहीं किया, जो कुछ हुआ है, वहां हुआ है । आप सोच सकते हैं कि जिन दो देशों में समाचार के संचार में इतनी तक्लीफ़ होती है इतनी दिक्कतें होती हैं, उन के बीच में क्या हो जाया करता होगा ।

और मैं एक जबर्दस्त आरोप लगाना चाहता हूं दोनों सरकारों के ऊपर कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार और पाकिस्तान की सरकार दोनों इत्तिला के मामले में अपनी जनता के साथ बहुत—क्या शब्द कहूं—खिलवाड़ कर रही हैं, धोखा कर रही हैं, नाइन्साफ़ी कर रही हैं, जो कुछ आप कहना चाहें, क्योंकि क्या इत्तिला वे अख़बारों में छपायेंगे, अख़बार वाले जा कर ढूंढ नहीं सकते । हिन्दुस्तान-पाकिस्तान की बहुत लम्बी-चौड़ी सीमा है । इस सीमा पर कहां किस ने तस्कर-व्यापार किया, कहां किस पर गोली चली, चली या नहीं चली, कोई मरा या नहीं मरा, ये जितनी इत्तिलायें हैं, वे पाकिस्तान की सरकार पाकिस्तान के अख़बारों को देती है, हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार हिन्दुस्तान के अख़बारों को देती है ।

मेरा यह तर्क है कि जब ये दो सरकारें, या इन में से कोई एक, किसी भी वक्त अपनी गन्दी विदेशी नीति को सफल बनाने के लिए फ़ैसला कर लेती है कि हमें अपनी जनता को उभाड़ना है, तो उभाड़ दिया करती हैं । मैं इस बात को जानता हूं कि पाकिस्तान की सरकार पाकिस्तान के लोगों को उभाड़ा करती है, ग़लत-बयानी करती है, ग़लत ख़बरें दिया करती है और काश्मीर के मामले में आप ने यह देख ही लिया । लेकिन उसके साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार चीन के मामले से अपना पिंड छुड़ाने के लिए बीच बीच में पाकिस्तान के मामले में भी इसी तरह की ख़बरें हिन्दुस्तान के अख़बारों को देती रही है मसलन उस ने कई जगह छपवाया है कि बड़ा तस्कर-व्यापार चल रहा है, बड़ी गोली चल रही है । और यहां पर जब पूछा गया कि गोली में कितने आदमी मारे गए, तो हज़रत प्रधान मंत्री जवाब देते हैं कि मरा तो कोई नहीं । लेकिन ये सारी बातें होती हैं । इस से लोगों का दिमाग़ बिगड़ता है । अगर कुछ हो सके तो सूचना के मामले में भी कोई न कोई तरकीब निकाली जाये, जिस से दोनों जगह पर सूचना इस ढंग की आये, जिस में थोड़ी बहुत सत्यता हो । यह तो बिल्कुल साफ़ बात है ।

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

जो दो छोटी नीतियां बताई गई हैं, उन के साथ मैं अपनी रज़ामंदी बता देना चाहता हूं। एक तो यह है कि पाकिस्तान से जो कोई आना चाहे, उस के आने में बिल्कुल कोई रुकावट नहीं होनी चाहिये। मैं पूरी तरह इस नीति के साथ हूं। इस के ये मानी नहीं होते हैं कि सब को यहां बुला लो, या तबादला कर दो। तबादला तो बहुत ही ख़तरनाक और बहुत ही ख़राब चीज है। दूसरा पुनर्वास वग़ैरह का मामला है।

अन्त में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इतना बड़ा मसला आज मुल्क के सामने है। माननीय सदस्य, श्री मुकर्जी ने कहा—बिल्कुल सही कहा—कि देश बड़ा बीमार है। अफ़सोस है कि सरकार बड़ी बीमार है, प्रधान मंत्री बीमार हैं। बीमार देश का बीमार प्रधान मंत्री। किसी देश की बीमारी को दूर करने के लिए पंद्रह बीस बरस लग सकते हैं, लेकिन एक बीमार प्रधान मंत्री को एक क्षण भी अपनी जगह पर नहीं रहना चाहिये और मौका देना चाहिये कि सरकार किसी अच्छे न्तज़ाम से चल सके। हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का इतना बड़ा मामला है। पूर्वी बंगाल का इतना बड़ा मामला है। लेकिन आज हम देख रहे हैं—ख़ैर, पंद्रह बरस से यह नाव तो न जाने किस तरह से बहती चली जा रही है। यह हर झोंके के साथ बहती है। कोई खेवनहार नहीं है। और जो थोड़ा बहुत खेवनहार था, वह पता नहीं कहां पर अपने घर में बैठा हुआ है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप से यह अर्ज करूंगा कि स संसद् के ज़रिये किसी तरह से आप कोशिश करें कि इस सरकार में थोड़ा बहुत नेतृत्व आये, ग़लत ही नेतृत्व आये, कोई दिशा पकड़ने वाला हो, किसी तरफ़ ले जाने वाला हो, ग़लत हो, जैसा भी हो, वह आये।

Shri S. M. Banerjee *rose—*

Mr. Speaker: Shri Banerjee wants to speak. But there is no time. He can speak on the President's Address. I will call the Minister.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): Mr. Speaker Sir, I approach the task of replying to this debate with the fully realisation of the gravity of the issues involved. May I add that as I stand here, I carry a feeling of oppression? My mind is weighed down. I have in mind the things which I saw myself during the days I went about the streets of Calcutta. I have also in mind the numerous reports which I have read, scanned and the information which has come in from various quarters about the happenings in East Pakistan——indescribable things——which would weigh down anyone with these stories of atrocities and the sufferings and the torture of spirit and the indignities and dishonour and whatever many families, men, women and children, had to undergo. I have all that before me. I have also before me the things which I have heard here, the information given, the references made to those occurrences by many Members of the House. I may also express a sense of satisfaction that the Members of the House have given proof of their own sense of understanding of the situation, of the problem, in the country. They have expressed themselves with a sense of restraint and I can have no complaint that there has been any kind of extravagance in demands made in their utterances and in any kind of claims made on the Government regarding what has to be done to meet the situation.

Sir, primarily, the question that has arison is as to the plight of the minority in East Pakistan, the Hindus living there. What is going to be done about them? That is the kernel of the problem. I shall deal with that question. But before I take up the various aspects of that problem, I should clear the ground by saying something about some other questions which have been raised by the hon. Members: What happened in Calcutta, in West Bengal? What was the performance of the Gov-

ernment of West Bengal and the Government of India? Something has been said about the failure of the Government of West Bengal.

Mr. Speaker: The House would adjourn now and would hear the hon. Minister tomorrow. He may continue his speech tomorrow.

17.00

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 13th February, 1964/Magha 24, 1885 (Saka).

GMGIPND—RS—2025 LS—22-2-64—980.